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FOURTH SERIES.] [No. 61.

ADDRESS ON TEMPERANCE.

DELIVERED BY REQUEST OF THE

Council of the Massachusetts Temperance Society,

AT THE ODEON, BOSTON,

FEBRUARY 28, 1837,

The Day appointed for the simultaneous Meeting of the Friends of Temperance throughout the World.

BY

REV. WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D.D.

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ADDRESS ON TEMPERANCE.

I SEE before me the representatives of various societies for the promotion of temperance. It is a good and great cause, and I shall be grateful to God if, by the service now allotted me, I can in any degree encourage them in their work, or throw new light on their path. The present occasion may well animate a Christian minister. What a noble testimony does this meeting bear to the spirit and influences of the Christian faith! Why is this multitude brought together? Not for selfish gratification, not for any worldly end, but for the purpose of arresting a great moral and social evil, of promoting the virtue, dignity, well-being of men. And whence comes this sympathy with the fallen, the guilty, the miserable? Have we derived it from the schools of ancient philosophy, or from the temples of Greece and Rome? No. We inherit it from Jesus Christ. We have caught it from his lips, his life, his cross. This meeting, were we to trace its origin, would carry us back to Bethlehem and Calvary. The impulse which Christ gave to the human soul, having endured for ages, is now manifesting itself more and more in new and increasing efforts of philanthropy for the redemption of the world from every form of evil. Within these walls the authority of Christ has sometimes been questioned, his character traduced. To the blasphemer of that holy name, what a reply is furnished by the crowd which these walls

2.43

now contain! A religion, which thus brings and knits men together for the help, comfort, salvation of their erring, lost fellow-creatures, bears on its front a broad, bright, unambiguous stamp of Divinity. Let us be grateful that we were born under its light, and more grateful still if we have been in any measure baptized into its disinterested and divine love.

I cannot hope, in the present stage of the temperance effort, to render any important aid to your cause by novelty of suggestion. Its friends have thoroughly explored the ground over which I am to travel. Still, every man who is accustomed to think for himself is naturally attracted to particular views or points in the most familiar subject; and by concentrating his thoughts on these, he sometimes succeeds in giving them a new prominence, in vindicating their just rank, and in securing to them an attention which they may not have received, but which is their due.

On the subject of intemperance, I have sometimes thought, perhaps without foundation, that its chief, essential evil was not brought out as thoroughly and frequently as its secondary evils, and that there was not a sufficient conviction of the depth of its causes and of the remedies which it demands. With these impressions, I invite your attention to the following topics, — the great essential evil of intemperance; the extent of its temptations; its causes; the means of its prevention or cure.

I. I begin with asking, What is the great, essential evil of intemperance? The reply is given when I say that intemperance is the *voluntary extinction of reason.* The great evil is inward or spiritual. The intemperate man divests himself, for a time, of his rational and moral nature, casts from himself self-consciousness and self-command, brings on frenzy, and, by repetition of this insanity, prostrates more and more his rational and moral powers. He sins

immediately and directly against the rational nature — that divine principle which distinguishes between truth and falsehood, between right and wrong action, which distinguishes man from the brute. This is the essence of the vice, what constitutes its peculiar guilt and woe, and what should particularly impress and awaken those who are laboring for its suppression. All the other evils of intemperance are light compared with this, and almost all flow from this; and it is right, it is to be desired, that all other evils should be joined with and follow this. It is to be desired, when a man lifts a suicidal arm against his highest life, when he quenches reason and conscience, that he and all others should receive solemn, startling warning of the greatness of his guilt; that terrible outward calamities should bear witness to the inward ruin which he is working; that the handwriting of judgment and woe on his countenance, form, and whole condition should declare what a fearful thing it is for a man, God's rational offspring, to renounce his reason and become a brute. It is common for those who argue against intemperance to describe the bloated countenance of the drunkard, now flushed and now deadly pale. They describe his trembling, palsied limbs. They describe his waning prosperity, his poverty, his despair. They describe his desolate, cheerless home, his cold hearth, his scanty board, his heart-broken wife, the squalidness of his children; and we groan in spirit over the sad recital. But it is right that all this should be. It is right that he who, forewarned, puts out the lights of understanding and conscience within him, who abandons his rank among God's rational creatures, and takes his place among brutes, should stand a monument of wrath among his fellows, should be a teacher wherever he is seen, — a teacher, in every look and motion, of the awful guilt of destroying reason. Were we so constituted that reason could be

extinguished and the countenance retain its freshness, the form its grace, the body its vigor, the outward condition its prosperity, and no striking change be seen in one's home, so far from being gainers, we should lose some testimonies of God's parental care. His care and goodness, as well as His justice, are manifested in the fearful mark He has set on the drunkard, in the blight which falls on all the drunkard's joys. These outward evils, dreadful as they seem, are but faint types of the ruin within. We should see in them God's respect to His own image in the soul, His parental warnings against the crime of quenching the intellectual and moral life.

We are too apt to fix our thoughts on the consequences or punishments of crime, and to overlook the crime itself. This is not turning punishment to its highest use. Punishment is an outward sign of inward evil. It is meant to reveal something more terrible than itself. The greatness of punishment is a mode of embodying, making visible, the magnitude of the crime to which it is attached. The miseries of intemperance, its loathsomeness, ghastliness, and pains, are not seen aright if they do not represent to us the more fearful desolation wrought by this sin in the soul.

Among the evils of intemperance, much importance is given to the poverty of which it is the cause. But this evil, great as it is, is yet light in comparison with the essential evil of intemperance, which I am so anxious to place distinctly before you. What matters it that a man be poor, if he carry into his poverty the spirit, energy, reason, and virtues of a man? What matters it that a man must for a few years live on bread and water? How many of the richest are reduced by disease to a worse condition than this? Honest, virtuous, noble-minded poverty is a comparatively light evil. The ancient philosopher chose it as the condition of virtue. It has been the lot of

many a Christian. The poverty of the intemperate man owes its great misery to its cause. He who makes himself a beggar, by having made himself a brute, is miserable indeed. He who has no solace, who has only agonizing recollections and harrowing remorse, as he looks on his cold hearth, his scanty table, his ragged children, has indeed to bear a crushing weight of woe. That he suffers is a light thing. That he has brought on himself this suffering by the voluntary extinction of his reason, this is the terrible thought, the intolerable curse.

We are told that we must keep this or that man from drunkenness, to save him from "coming on the town," from being a burden to the city. The motive is not to be overlooked; but I cannot keep my thoughts fixed for a moment on the few hundred or thousand dollars which the intemperate cost. When I go to the poor-house, and see the degradation, the spiritual weakness, the abjectness, the half-idiot imbecility written on the drunkard's countenance, I see a ruin which makes the cost of his support a grain of dust in the scale. I am not sorry that society is taxed for the drunkard. I would it were taxed more. I would the burden of sustaining him were so heavy that we should be compelled to wake up, and ask how he may be saved from ruin. It is intended, wisely intended by God, that sin shall spread its miseries beyond itself, that no human being shall suffer alone, that the man who falls shall draw others with him, if not into his guilt, at least into a portion of his woe. If one member of the social body suffer, others must suffer too; and this is well. This is one of the dependencies by which we become interested in one another's moral safety, and are summoned to labor for the rescue of the fallen.

Intemperance is to be pitied and abhorred for its own sake much more than for its outward consequences. These consequences owe their chief bitterness to their criminal

source. We speak of the miseries which the drunkard carries into his family. But take away his own brutality, and how lightened would be these miseries! We talk of his wife and children in rags. Let the rags continue; but suppose them to be the effects of an innocent cause. Suppose the drunkard to have been a virtuous husband and an affectionate father, and that sickness, not vice, has brought his family thus low. Suppose his wife and children bound to him by a strong love, which a life of labor for their support and of unwearied kindness has awakened; suppose them to know that his toils for their welfare had broken down his frame; suppose him able to say, "We are poor in this world's goods, but rich in affection and religious trust. I am going from you; but I leave you to the Father of the fatherless and to the widow's God." Suppose this, and how changed these rags! How changed the cold, naked room! The heart's warmth can do much to withstand the winter's cold; and there is hope, there is honor, in this virtuous indigence. What breaks the heart of the drunkard's wife? It is not that he is poor, but that he is a drunkard. Instead of that bloated face, now distorted with passion, now robbed of every gleam of intelligence, if the wife could look on an affectionate countenance, which had for years been the interpreter of a well-principled mind and faithful heart, what an overwhelming load would be lifted from her! It is a husband whose touch is polluting, whose infirmities are the witnesses of his guilt, who has blighted all her hopes, who has proved false to the vow which made her his; it is such a husband who makes home a hell, not one whom toil and disease and Providence have cast on the care of wife and children.

We look too much at the consequences of vice, too little at the vice itself. It is vice which is the chief weight of what we call its consequence, vice which is the bitterness in the cup of human woe.

II. I proceed now to offer some remarks on the extent of temptations to this vice. And on this point I shall not avail myself of the statistics of intemperance. I shall not attempt to number its victims. I wish to awaken universal vigilance, by showing that the temptations to this excess are spread through all classes of society. We are apt to speak as if the laborious, uneducated, unimproved, were alone in danger, and as if we ourselves had no interest in this cause, except as others are concerned. But it is not so; multitudes in all classes are in danger. In truth, when we recall the sad histories of not a few in every circle, who once stood among the firmest and then yielded to temptation, we are taught that none of us should dismiss fear, — that we too may be walking on the edge of the abyss. The young are exposed to intemperance; for youth wants forethought, loves excitement, is apt to place happiness in gayety, is prone to convivial pleasure, and too often finds or makes this the path to hell; nor are the old secure, for age unnerves the mind as well as the body, and silently steals away the power of self-control. The idle are in scarcely less peril than the overworked laborer; for uneasy cravings spring up in the vacant mind, and the excitement of intoxicating draughts is greedily sought as an escape from the intolerable weariness of having nothing to do. Men of a coarse, unrefined character fall easily into intemperance, because they see little in its brutality to disgust them. It is a sadder thought that men of genius and sensibility are hardly less exposed. Strong action of the mind is even more exhausting than the toil of the hands. It uses up, if I may so say, the finer spirits, and leaves either a sinking of the system which craves for tonics, or a restlessness which seeks relief in deceitful sedatives. Besides, it is natural for minds of great energy to hunger for strong excitement; and this, when not found in innocent occupation and amusement, is too often sought

in criminal indulgence. These remarks apply peculiarly to men whose genius is poetical, imaginative, allied with, and quickened by, peculiar sensibility. Such men, living in worlds of their own creation, kindling themselves with ideal beauty and joy, and too often losing themselves in reveries in which imagination ministers to appetite and the sensual triumphs over the spiritual nature, are peculiarly in danger of losing the balance of the mind, of losing calm thought, clear judgment, and moral strength of will, become children of impulse, learn to despise simple and common pleasures, and are hurried to ruin by a feverish thirst of high-wrought, delirious gratification. In such men, these mental causes of excess are often aggravated by peculiar irritableness of the nervous system. Hence the records of literature are so sad. Hence the brightest lights of the intellectual world have so often undergone disastrous eclipse; and the inspired voice of genius, so thrilling, so exalting, has died away in the brutal or idiot cries of intemperance. I have now been speaking of the highest order of intellectual men; but it may be said of men of education in general, that they must not feel themselves beyond peril. It is said that as large a proportion of intemperate men can be found among those who have gone through our colleges as among an equal number of men in the same sphere of life who have not enjoyed the same culture. It must not, however, be inferred that the cultivation of the intellect affords no moral aids. The truth is, that its good tendencies are thwarted. Educated men fall victims to temptation as often as other men, not because education is inoperative, but because our public seminaries give a partial training, being directed almost wholly to the development of the intellect, and very little to moral culture, and still less to the invigoration of the physical system. Another cause of the evil is probably this, — that young men, liberally educated, enter on profes-

sions which give at first little or no occupation, which expose them, perhaps for years, to the temptations of leisure, the most perilous in an age of inexperience and passion. Accordingly, the ranks of intemperance are recruited from that class which forms the chief hope of society. And I would I could stop here. But there is another prey on which intemperance seizes, still more to be deplored, and that is woman. I know no sight on earth more sad than woman's countenance, which once knew no suffusion but the glow of exquisite feeling, or the blush of hallowed modesty, crimsoned, deformed by intemperance. Even woman is not safe. The delicacy of her physical organization exposes her to inequalities of feeling which tempt to the seductive relief given by cordials. Man with his iron nerves little knows what the sensitive frame of woman suffers, how many desponding imaginations throng on her in her solitudes, how often she is exhausted by unremitting cares, and how much the power of self-control is impaired by repeated derangements of her frail system. The truth should be told. In all our families, no matter what their condition, there are endangered individuals, and fear and watchfulness in regard to intemperance belong to all.

Do not say that I exaggerate your exposure to intemperance. Let no man say, when he thinks of the drunkard, broken in health and spoiled of intellect, "I can never so fall." He thought as little of falling in his earlier years. The promise of his youth was as bright as yours; and even after he began his downward course he was as unsuspicious as the firmest around him, and would have repelled as indignantly the admonition to beware of intemperance. The danger of this vice lies in its almost imperceptible approach. Few who perish by it know its first accesses. Youth does not see or suspect drunkenness in the sparkling beverage which quickens all its susceptibilities of joy.

The invalid does not see it in the cordial which his physician prescribes, and which gives new tone to his debilitated organs. The man of thought and genius detects no palsying poison in the draught which seems a spring of inspiration to intellect and imagination. The lover of social pleasure little dreams that the glass which animates conversation will ever be drunk in solitude, and will sink him too low for the intercourse in which he now delights. Intemperance comes with noiseless step, and binds its first cords with a touch too light to be felt. This truth of mournful experience should be treasured up by us all, and should influence the habits and arrangements of domestic and social life in every class of the community.

Such is the extent of the temptations of this vice. It is true, however, that while its ravages may be traced through all conditions, they are chiefly to be found in the poorer and laboring portions of society. Here its crimes and woes swell to an amount which startles and appalls us. Here the evil is to be chiefly withstood. I shall, therefore, in my following remarks, confine myself very much to the causes and remedies of intemperance in this class of the community.

III. Among the causes of intemperance in the class of which I have spoken, not a few are to be found in the present state of society, which every man does something to confirm, and which brings to most of us many privileges. On these I shall now insist, because they show our obligation to do what we can to remove the evil. It is just that they who receive good should aid those who receive harm from our present social organization. Undoubtedly, the primary cause of intemperance is in the intemperate themselves, in their moral weakness and irresolution, in the voluntary surrender of themselves to temptation. Still, society, by increasing temptation and diminishing men's power to resist, becomes responsible for all wide-spread

vices, and is bound to put forth all its energy for their suppression. This leads me to consider some of the causes of intemperance which have their foundation in our social state.

One cause of the commonness of intemperance in the present state of things is the heavy burden of care and toil which is laid on a large multitude of men. Multitudes, to earn subsistence for themselves and their families, are often compelled to undergo a degree of labor exhausting to the spirits and injurious to health. Of consequence, relief is sought in stimulants. We do not find that civilization lightens men's toils; as yet it has increased them; and in this effect I see the sign of a deep defect in what we call the progress of society. It cannot be the design of the Creator that the whole of life should be spent in drudgery for the supply of animal wants. That civilization is very imperfect in which the mass of men can redeem no time from bodily labor for intellectual, moral, and social culture. It is melancholy to witness the degradation of multitudes to the condition of beasts of burden. Exhausting toils unfit the mind to withstand temptation. The man, spent with labor, and cut off by his condition from higher pleasures, is impelled to seek a deceitful solace in sensual excess. How the condition of society shall be so changed as to prevent excessive pressure on any class is undoubtedly a hard question. One thing seems plain, — that there is no tendency in our present institutions and habits to bring relief. On the contrary, rich and poor seem to be more and more oppressed with incessant toil, exhausting forethought, anxious struggles, feverish competitions. Some look to legislation to lighten the burden of the laboring class. But equal laws and civil liberty have no power to remove the shocking contrast of condition which all civilized communities present. Inward, spiritual improvement, I believe, is the only sure

remedy for social evils. What we need is a new diffusion of Christian, fraternal love, to stir up the powerful and prosperous to succor liberally and encourage the unfortunate or weak, and a new diffusion of intellectual and moral force, to make the multitude efficient for their own support, to form them to self-control, and to breathe a spirit of independence which will scorn to ask or receive unnecessary relief.

Another cause, intimately connected with the last, is the intellectual depression and the ignorance to which many are subjected. They who toil from morning to night, without seasons of thought and mental improvement, are of course exceedingly narrowed in their faculties, views, and sources of gratification. The present moment and the body engross their thoughts. The pleasures of intellect, of imagination, of taste, of reading, of cultivated society, are almost entirely denied them. What pleasures but those of the senses remain? Unused to reflection and forethought, how dim must be their perceptions of religion and duty, and how little fitted are they to cope with temptation! Undoubtedly, in this country, this cause of intemperance is less operative than in others. There is less brutal ignorance here than elsewhere; but, on the other hand, the facilities of excess are incomparably greater, so that for the uneducated the temptation to vice may be stronger in this than in less enlightened lands. Our outward prosperity, unaccompanied with proportionate moral and mental improvement, becomes a mighty impulse to intemperance, and this impulse the prosperous are bound to withstand.

I proceed to another cause of intemperance among the poor and laboring classes, and that is the general sensuality and earthliness of the community. There is, indeed, much virtue, much spirituality, in the prosperous classes, but it is generally unseen. There is a vastly greater

amount in these classes of worldliness, of devotion to the senses, and this stands out in bold relief. The majority live unduly for the body. Where there is little intemperance, in the common acceptation of that term, there is yet a great amount of excess. Thousands, who are never drunk, place their chief happiness in pleasures of the table. How much of the intellect of this community is palsied, how much of the expression of the countenance blotted out, how much of the spirit buried, through unwise indulgence! What is the great lesson which the more prosperous classes teach to the poorer? Not self-denial, not spirituality, not the great Christian truth that human happiness lies in the triumphs of the mind over the body, in inward force and life. The poorer are taught by the richer that the greatest good is ease, indulgence. The voice which descends from the prosperous contradicts the lessons of Christ and of sound philosophy. It is the sensuality, the earthliness of those who give the tone to public sentiment, which is chargeable with a vast amount of the intemperance of the poor. How is the poor man to resist intemperance? Only by a moral force, an energy of will, a principle of self-denial in his soul. And where is this taught him? Does a higher morality come to him from those whose condition makes them his superiors? The great inquiry which he hears among the better educated is, What shall we eat and drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed? Unceasing struggles for outward, earthly, sensual good, constitute the chief activity which he sees around him. To suppose that the poorer classes should receive lessons of luxury and self-indulgence from the more prosperous, and should yet resist the most urgent temptations to excess, is to expect from them a moral force in which we feel ourselves to be sadly wanting. In their hard conflicts, how little of life-giving truth, of elevating thought, of heavenly aspira-

tion, do they receive from those above them in worldly condition!

Another cause of intemperance is the want of self-respect which the present state of society induces among the poor and laborious. Just as far as wealth is the object of worship, the measure of men's importance, the badge of distinction, so far there will be a tendency to self-contempt and self-abandonment among those whose lot gives them no chance of its acquisition. Such naturally feel as if the great good of life were denied them. They see themselves neglected. Their condition cuts them off from communication with the improved. They think they have little stake in the general weal. They do not feel as if they had a character to lose. Nothing reminds them of the greatness of their nature. Nothing teaches them that in their obscure lot they may secure the highest good on earth. Catching from the general tone of society the ruinous notion that wealth is honor as well as happiness, they see in their narrow lot nothing to inspire self-respect. In this delusion they are not more degraded than the prosperous; they but echo the voice of society; but to them the delusion brings a deeper, immediate ruin. By sinking them in their own eyes, it robs them of a powerful protection against low vices. It prepares them for coarse manners, for gross pleasures, for descent to brutal degradation. Of all classes of society, the poor should be treated with peculiar deference, as the means of counteracting their chief peril; I mean, the loss of self-respect. But to all their other evil is added peculiar neglect. Can we then wonder that they fall?

I might name other causes in our social constitution favoring intemperance; but I must pass them, and will suggest one characteristic of our times, which increases all the tendencies to this vice. Our times are distinguished by what is called a love of excitement; in other words, by

a love of strong stimulants. To be stimulated, excited, is the universal want. The calmness, sobriety, plodding industry of our fathers, have been succeeded by a feverish restlessness. The books that are read are not the great, standard, immortal works of genius, which require calm thought, and inspire deep feeling; but ephemeral works, which are run through with a railroad rapidity, and which give a pleasure not unlike that produced by exhilarating draughts. Business is become a race, and is hurried on by the excitement of great risks and the hope of great profits. Even religion partakes the general restlessness. In some places, extravagant measures, which storm the nervous system, and drive the more sensitive to the borders of insanity, are resorted to for its promotion. Everywhere people go to church to be excited rather than improved. This thirst for stimulants cannot be shut up in certain spheres. It spreads through and characterizes the community. It pervades those classes who, unhappily, can afford themselves but one strong stimulus, — intoxicating liquor; and among these the spirit of the age breaks out in intemperance.

IV. I have now set before you some of the causes of intemperance in our present social state; and this I have done that you may feel that society, in all its ranks, especially in the highest, is bound in justice to resist the evil; and not only justice, but benevolence, pleads with us to spare no efforts for its prevention or cure. The thought that in the bosom of our society are multitudes standing on the brink of perdition, multitudes who are strongly tempted to debase and destroy their rational nature, to sink into brutal excess, to seal their ruin in this world and in the world to come, ought to weigh on us as a burden, ought to inspire deeper concern than the visitation of pestilence, ought to rouse every man who has escaped this degradation to do what he may to rescue the fallen, and still more, to save the falling.

The question now comes, How shall we arrest, how suppress, this great evil? Such is our last inquiry, and to this I answer, there are two modes of action. To rescue men, we must act on them inwardly or outwardly. We must either give them strength within to withstand the temptations to intemperance, or we must remove these temptations without. We must increase the power of resistance, or diminish the pressure which is to be resisted. Both modes of influence are useful, but the first incalculably the most important. No man is safe against this foe but he who is armed with moral force, with strength in his own soul, with the might of principle, and a virtuous will. The great means, then, of repressing intemperance in those portions of society which are most exposed to it is to communicate to them, or awaken in them, moral strength, the power of self-denial, a nobler and more vigorous action of conscience and religious principle. In other words, to save the laboring and poor from intemperance, we must set in action among them the means of intellectual, moral, and religious improvement. We must strive to elevate them as rational and moral beings, to unfold their highest nature. It is idle to think that, while these classes remain the same in other respects, they can be cured of intemperance. Intemperance does not stand alone in their condition and character. It is a part or sign of general degradation. It can only be effectually removed by exalting their whole character and condition. To heal a diseased limb or organ, you must relieve and strengthen the whole body. So it is with the mind. We cannot, if we would, remove those vices from the poor which are annoying to ourselves, and leave them, in other respects, as corrupt as before. Nothing but a general improvement of their nature can fortify them against the crimes which make them scourges alike to themselves and to their race.

And how may moral strength, force of principle, be communicated to the less prosperous classes of society? I answer, first, the surest means is to increase it among the more favored. All classes of a community have connections, sympathies. Let selfishness and sensuality reign among the prosperous and educated, and the poor and uneducated will reflect these vices in grosser forms. That man is the best friend to temperance, among high and low, whose character and life express clearly and strongly moral energy, self-denial, superiority to the body, superiority to wealth, elevation of sentiment and principle. The greatest benefactor to society is not he who serves it by single acts, but whose general character is the manifestation of a higher life and spirit than pervades the mass. Such men are the salt of the earth. The might of individual virtue surpasses all other powers. The multiplication of individuals of true force and dignity of mind would be the surest of all omens of the suppression of intemperance in every condition of society.

Another means is the cultivation of a more fraternal intercourse than now exists between the more and less improved portions of the community. Our present social barriers and distinctions, in so far as they restrict sympathy, and substitute the spirit of caste, the bigotry of rank, for the spirit of humanity, for reverence of our common nature, ought to be reprobated as gross violations of the Christian law. Those classes of society which have light, strength, and virtue, are bound to communicate these to such as want them. The weak, ignorant, falling, and fallen ought not to be cut off from their more favored brethren, ought not to be left to act continually and exclusively on one another, and thus to propagate their crimes and woes without end. The good should form a holy conspiracy against evil, should assail it by separate and joint exertion, should approach it, study it, weep and pray over

it, and throw all their souls into efforts for its removal. My friends, you whom God has prospered, whom He has enlightened, in whose hearts He has awakened a reverence for Himself, what are you doing for the fallen, the falling, the miserable of your race? When an improved Christian thinks of the mass of unpitied, unfriended guilt in this city, must he not be shocked at the hardness of all our hearts? Are we not all of one blood, one nature, one heavenly descent; and are outward distinctions, which to-morrow are to be buried forever in the tomb, to divide us from one another, to cut off the communications of brotherly sympathy and aid? In a Christian community, not one human being should be left to fall, without counsel, remonstrance, sympathy, encouragement, from others more enlightened and virtuous than himself. Say not this cannot be done. I know it cannot be done without great changes in our habits, views, feelings; but these changes must be made. A new bond must unite the scattered portions of men. A new sense of responsibility must stir up the enlightened, the prosperous, the virtuous. Christianity demands this. The progress of society demands it. I see blessed omens of this, and they are among the brightest features of our times.

Again, to elevate and strengthen the more exposed classes of society, it is indispensable that a higher education should be afforded them. We boast of the means of education afforded to the poorest here. It may be said with truth, in regard to both rich and poor, that these means are very deficient. As to moral education, hardly any provisions are made for it in our public schools. To educate is something more than to teach those elements of knowledge which are needed to get a subsistence. It is to exercise and call out the higher faculties and affections of a human being. Education is not the authoritative, compulsory, mechanical training of passive pupils, but the

influence of gifted and quickening minds on the spirits of the young. Such education is as yet sparingly enjoyed, and cannot be too fervently desired. Of what use, let me ask, is the wealth of this community, but to train up a better generation than ourselves? Of what use, I ask, is freedom, except to call forth the best powers of all classes and of every individual? What, but human improvement, is the great end of society? Why ought we to sustain so anxiously republican institutions, if they do not tend to form a nobler race of men, and to spread nobleness through all conditions of social life? It is a melancholy and prevalent error among us, that persons in the laboring classes are denied by their conditions any considerable intellectual improvement. They must live, it is thought, to work, not to fulfil the great end of a human being, which is to unfold his divinest powers and affections. But it is not so. The poorest child might and ought to have liberal means of self-improvement; and were there a true reverence among us for human nature and for Christianity, he would find them. In a letter, recently received from a most intelligent traveller in Germany, I am informed that in certain parts of that country there is found, in the most depressed classes, a degree of intellectual culture not generally supposed to consist with their lot; that a sense of the beautiful in nature and art produces much happiness in a portion of society which among us is thought to be disqualified for this innocent and elevated pleasure; that the teaching in Sunday-schools is in some places more various than here; and that a collection of books and a degree of scientific knowledge may be met in cottages far inferior to the dwellings of our husbandmen. "In short," my friend adds, "I have seen abundant proof that intellectual culture, as found here, spreads its light and comfort through a class that hardly exists at all with us, or, where it does exist, is generally supposed to labor under a degree

of physical wretchedness inconsistent with such culture." Information of this kind should breathe new hope into philanthropic labors for the intellectual and moral life of every class in society. How much may be done in this city to spread knowledge, vigor of thought, the sense of beauty, the pleasures of the imagination and the fine arts, and, above all, the influences of religion, through our whole community! Were the prosperous and educated to learn that, after providing for their families, they cannot better employ their possessions and influence than in forwarding the improvement and elevation of society, how soon would this city be regenerated! How many generous spirits might be enlisted here by a wise bounty in the work of training their fellow-creatures! Wealth cannot be better used than in rescuing men of vigorous and disinterested minds from worldly toils and cares, in giving them time and opportunity for generous self-culture, and in enabling them to devote their whole strength and being to a like culture of their race. The surest mark of a true civilization is that the arts which minister to sensuality decrease, and spiritual employments are multiplied; or that more and more of the highest ability in the state is withdrawn from labors for the animal life, and consecrated to the work of calling forth the intellect, the imagination, the conscience, the pure affections, the moral energy, of the community at large, and especially of the young. What is now wasted among us in private show and luxury, if conscientiously and wisely devoted to the furnishing of means of generous culture to all classes among us, would render this city the wonder and joy of the whole earth. What is thus wasted might supply not only the means of education in the sciences, but in the refined arts. Music might here be spread as freely as in Germany, and be made a lightener of toil, a cheerer of society, a relief of loneliness, a solace in the poorest dwellings. Still more,

what we now waste would furnish this city, in a course of years, with the chief attractions of Paris, — with another Louvre, and with a Garden of Plants, where the gifted of all classes might have opportunity to cultivate the love of nature and art. Happily, the cause of a higher education begins to find friends here, thanks to that enlightened and noble-minded son of Boston, whose ashes now slumber on a foreign shore, but who has left to his birthplace a testimony of filial love, in his munificent bequest for the diffusion of liberal instruction through this metropolis. Honored be the name of Lowell, the intellectual benefactor of his native city! A community, directing its energies chiefly to a higher education of its rising members, to a generous development of human nature, would achieve what as yet has not entered human thought; and it is for this end that we ought to labor. Our show and our luxury, how contemptible in comparison with the improvement of our families, neighborhood, and race!

Allow me here to express an earnest desire that our legislators, provoked to jealousy by the spirit of improvement in other States, and moved by zeal for the ancient honor of this Commonwealth, may adopt some strong measures for the advancement of education among us. We need an institution for the formation of better teachers; and, until this step is taken, we can make no important progress. The most crying want in this Commonwealth is the want of accomplished teachers. We boast of our schools; but our schools do comparatively little, for want of educated instructors. Without good teaching, a school is but a name. An institution for training men to train the young would be a fountain of living waters, sending forth streams to refresh present and future ages. As yet, our legislators have denied to the poor and laboring classes this principal means of their elevation. We trust they will not always prove blind to the highest interest of the State.

We want better teachers and more teachers for all classes of society, for rich and poor, for children and adults. We want that the resources of the community should be directed to the procuring of better instructors, as its highest concern. One of the surest signs of the regeneration of society will be the elevation of the art of teaching to the highest rank in the community. When a people shall learn that its greatest benefactors and most important members are men devoted to the liberal instruction of all its classes, to the work of raising to life its buried intellect, it will have opened to itself the path of true glory. This truth is making its way. Socrates is now regarded as the greatest man in an age of great men. The name of King has grown dim before that of Apostle. To teach, whether by word or action, is the highest function on earth. It is commonly supposed that instructors are needed only in the earlier years of life. But ought the education of a human being ever to cease? And may it not always be forwarded by good instruction? Some of us, indeed, can dispense with all teachers save the silent book. But to the great majority the voice of living teachers is an indispensable means of cultivation. The discovery and supply of this want would give a new aspect to a community. Nothing is more needed than that men of superior gifts and of benevolent spirit should devote themselves to the instruction of the less enlightened classes in the great end of life, in the dignity of their nature, in their rights and duties, in the history, laws, and institutions of their country, in the philosophy of their employments, in the laws, harmonies, and productions of outward nature, and especially in the art of bringing up children in health of body and in vigor and purity of mind. We need a new profession or vocation, the object of which shall be to wake up the intellect in those spheres where it is now buried in habitual slumber. We honor, and cannot too much honor,

the philanthropist, who endows permanent institutions for the relief of human suffering; but not less good, I apprehend, would be accomplished by inquiring for and seizing on men of superior ability and disinterestedness, and by sending them forth to act immediately on society. A philanthropist who should liberally afford to one such man the means of devoting himself to the cultivation of the poorer classes of society would confer invaluable good. One gifted man, with his heart in the work, who should live among the uneducated, to spread useful knowledge and quickening truth, by conversation and books, by frank and friendly intercourse, by encouraging meetings for improvement, by forming the more teachable into classes, and giving to these the animation of his presence and guidance, by bringing parents to an acquaintance with the principles of physical, intellectual, and moral education, by instructing families in the means and conditions of health, — by using, in a word, all the methods which an active, generous mind would discover or invent for awakening intelligence and moral life, — one gifted man, so devoted, might impart a new tone and spirit to a considerable circle; and what would be the result were such men to be multiplied and combined, so that a community might be pervaded by their influence? We owe much to the writings of men of genius, piety, science, and exalted virtue. But most of these remain shut up in narrow spheres. We want a class of liberal instructors whose vocation it shall be to place the views of the most enlightened minds within the reach of a more and more extensive portion of their fellow-creatures. The wealth of a community should flow out like water for the preparation and employment of such teachers, for enlisting powerful and generous minds in the work of giving impulse to their race. Jesus Christ, in instituting the ministry, laid the foundation of the intellectual and moral agency which I now urge. On this

foundation we ought to build more and more, until a life-giving influence shall penetrate all classes of society. What a painful thought is it that such an immense amount of intellectual and moral power, of godlike energy, is this very moment lying dead among us! Can we do nothing for its resurrection? Until this be done, we may lop off the branches of intemperance, but its root will live; and happy shall we be if its poisonous shade do not again darken our land. Let it not be said that the laborious can find no time for such instruction as is now proposed. More or less leisure, if sought, can be found in almost every life. Nor let it be said that men able and disposed to carry on this work must not be looked for in such a world as ours. Christianity, which has wrought so many miracles of beneficence, which has sent forth so many apostles and martyrs, so many Howards and Clarksons, can raise up laborers for this harvest also. Nothing is needed but a new pouring out of the spirit of Christian love, nothing but a new comprehension of the brotherhood of the human race, to call forth efforts which seem impossibilities in a self-seeking and self-indulging age.

I will add but one more means of giving moral power and general improvement to those portions of the community in which intemperance finds its chief victims. We must not only promote education in general, but especially send among them Christian instruction, Christian teachers, who shall be wholly devoted to their spiritual welfare. And here I cannot but express my joy at the efforts made for establishing a ministry among the poor in this and other cities. Though not sustained as it should be, it yet subsists in sufficient vigor to show what it can accomplish. I regard this institution as among the happiest omens of our times. It shows that the spirit of him who came to seek and to save that which was lost is not dead among us. Christianity is the mighty power before which intemper-

ance is to fall. Christianity, faithfully preached, assails and withstands this vice by appealing, as nothing else can, to men's hopes and fears; by speaking to the conscience in the name of the Almighty Judge; by speaking to the heart in the name of the Merciful Father; by proffering strength to human weakness, and pardon to human guilt; by revealing to men an immortal nature within, and an eternal state before them; by spreading over this life a brightness borrowed from the life to come; by awakening generous affections, and binding man by new ties to God and his race. But Christianity, to fulfil this part of its mission, to reach those who are most exposed to intemperance, must not only speak in the churches, where these are seldom found, but must enter their dwellings in the persons of its ministers, must commune with them in the language of friendship, must take their children under its guardianship and control. The ministry for the poor, sustained by men worthy of the function, will prove one of the most powerful barriers ever raised against intemperance.

The means of suppressing this vice on which I have hitherto insisted have for their object to strengthen and elevate the whole character of the classes most exposed to intemperance. I would now suggest a few means fitted to accomplish the same end, by diminishing or removing the temptations to this vice.

The first means which I shall suggest of placing a people beyond the temptations to intemperance is to furnish them with the means of innocent pleasure. This topic, I apprehend, has not been sufficiently insisted on. I feel its importance, and propose to enlarge upon it, though some of the topics which I may introduce may seem to some hardly consistent with the gravity of this occasion. We ought not, however, to respect the claims of that gravity which prevents a faithful exposition of what may serve and improve our fellow-creatures.

I have said a people should be guarded against temptation to unlawful pleasures by furnishing the means of innocent ones. By innocent pleasures I mean such as excite moderately; such as produce a cheerful frame of mind, not boisterous mirth; such as refresh, instead of exhausting, the system; such as occur frequently, rather than continue long; such as send us back to our daily duties invigorated in body and in spirit; such as we can partake in the presence and society of respectable friends; such as consist with, and are favorable to, a grateful piety; such as are chastened by self-respect, and are accompanied with the consciousness that life has a higher end than to be amused. In every community there *must* be pleasures, relaxations, and means of agreeable excitement; and if innocent ones are not furnished, resort will be had to criminal. Man was made to enjoy, as well as to labor; and the state of society should be adapted to this principle of human nature. France, especially before the revolution, has been represented as a singularly temperate country, — a fact to be explained, at least in part, by the constitutional cheerfulness of that people, and by the prevalence of simple and innocent gratifications, especially among the peasantry. Men drink to excess very often to shake off depression, or to satisfy the restless thirst for agreeable excitement; and these motives are excluded in a cheerful community. A gloomy state of society, in which there are few innocent recreations, may be expected to abound in drunkenness, if opportunities are afforded. The savage drinks to excess, because his hours of sobriety are dull and unvaried; because in losing the consciousness of his condition and his existence, he loses little which he wishes to retain. The laboring classes are most exposed to intemperance, because they have at present few other pleasurable excitements. A man who, after toil, has resources of blameless recreation is less tempted than other men to

seek self-oblivion. He has too many of the pleasures of a man to take up with those of a brute. Thus, the encouragement of simple, innocent enjoyments is an important means of temperance.

These remarks show the importance of encouraging the efforts which have commenced among us for spreading the accomplishment of music through our whole community. It is now proposed that this shall be made a regular branch in our schools; and every friend of the people must wish success to the experiment. I am not now called to speak of all the good influences of music, particularly of the strength which it may and ought to give to the religious sentiment, and to all pure and generous emotions. Regarded merely as a refined pleasure, it has a favorable bearing on public morals. Let taste and skill in this beautiful art be spread among us, and every family will have a new resource. Home will gain a new attraction. Social intercourse will be more cheerful, and an innocent public amusement will be furnished to the community. Public amusements, bringing multitudes together to kindle with one emotion, to share the same innocent joy, have a humanizing influence; and among these bonds of society perhaps no one produces so much unmixed good as music. What a fulness of enjoyment has our Creator placed within our reach, by surrounding us with an atmosphere which may be shaped into sweet sounds! And yet this goodness is almost lost upon us, through want of culture of the organ by which this provision is to be enjoyed.

Dancing is an amusement which has been discouraged in our country by many of the best people, and not without reason. Dancing is associated in their minds with balls; and this is one of the worst forms of social pleasure. The time consumed in preparation for a ball, the waste of thought upon it, the extravagance of dress, the late hours, the exhaustion of strength, the exposure of health, and the

languor of the succeeding day, — these and other evils connected with this amusement are strong reasons for banishing it from the community. But dancing ought not therefore to be proscribed. On the contrary, balls should be discouraged for this among other reasons, — that dancing, instead of being a rare pleasure, requiring elaborate preparation, may become an every-day amusement, and may mix with our common intercourse. This exercise is among the most healthful. The body as well as the mind feels its gladdening influence. No amusement seems more to have a foundation in our nature. The animation of youth overflows spontaneously in harmonious movements. The true idea of dancing entitles it to favor. Its end is to realize perfect grace in motion; and who does not know that a sense of the graceful is one of the higher faculties of our nature? It is to be desired that dancing should become too common among us to be made the object of special preparation, as in the ball; that members of the same family, when confined by unfavorable weather, should recur to it for exercise and exhilaration; that branches of the same family should enliven in this way their occasional meetings; that it should fill up an hour in all the assemblages for relaxation in which the young form a part. It is to be desired that this accomplishment should be extended to the laboring classes of society, not only as an innocent pleasure, but as a means of improving the manners. Why shall not gracefulness be spread through the whole community? From the French nation we learn that a degree of grace and refinement of manners may pervade all classes. The philanthropist and Christian must desire to break down the partition-walls between human beings in different conditions; and one means of doing this is to remove the conscious awkwardness which confinement to laborious occupations is apt to induce. An accomplishment giving free and graceful movement, though

a far weaker bond than intellectual or moral culture, still does something to bring those who partake it near each other.

I approach another subject, on which a greater variety of opinion exists than on the last, and that is the theatre. In its present state, the theatre deserves no encouragement. It is an accumulation of immoral influences. It has nourished intemperance and all vice. In saying this, I do not say that the amusement is radically, essentially evil. I can conceive of a theatre which would be the noblest of all amusements, and would take a high rank among the means of refining the taste and elevating the character of a people. The deep woes, the mighty and terrible passions, and the sublime emotions of genuine tragedy, are fitted to thrill us with human sympathies, with profound interest in our nature, with a consciousness of what man can do and dare and suffer, with an awed feeling of the fearful mysteries of life. The soul of the spectator is stirred from its depths; and the lethargy in which so many live is roused, at least for a time, to some intenseness of thought and sensibility. The drama answers a high purpose when it places us in the presence of the most solemn and striking events of human history, and lays bare to us the human heart in its most powerful, appalling, glorious workings. But how little does the theatre accomplish its end! How often is it disgraced by monstrous distortions of human nature, and still more disgraced by profaneness, coarseness, indelicacy, low wit, such as no woman worthy of the name can hear without a blush, and no man can take pleasure in without self-degradation! Is it possible that a Christian and a refined people can resort to theatres where exhibitions of dancing are given fit only for brothels, and where the most licentious class in the community throng unconcealed to tempt and destroy? That the theatre should be suffered to exist in its present

degradation is a reproach to the community. Were it to fall, a better drama might spring up in its place. In the mean time, is there not an amusement, having an affinity with the drama, which might be usefully introduced among us? I mean recitation. A work of genius, recited by a man of fine taste, enthusiasm, and powers of elocution, is a very pure and high gratification. Were this art cultivated and encouraged, great numbers, now insensible to the most beautiful compositions, might be waked up to their excellence and power. It is not easy to conceive of a more effectual way of spreading a refined taste through a community. The drama undoubtedly appeals more strongly to the passions than recitation; but the latter brings out the meaning of the author more. Shakspeare, worthily recited, would be better understood than on the stage. Then, in recitation, we escape the weariness of listening to poor performers, who, after all, fill up most of the time at the theatre. Recitation, sufficiently varied, so as to include pieces of chaste wit as well as of pathos, beauty, and sublimity, is adapted to our present intellectual progress as much as the drama falls below it. Should this exhibition be introduced among us successfully, the result would be that the power of recitation would be extensively called forth, and this would be added to our social and domestic pleasures.

I have spoken in this discourse of intellectual culture, as a defence against intemperance, by giving force and elevation to the mind. It also does great good as a source of amusement; and on this ground should be spread through the community. A cultivated mind may be said to have infinite stores of innocent gratification. Everything may be made interesting to it by becoming a subject of thought or inquiry. Books, regarded merely as a gratification, are worth more than all the luxuries on earth. A taste for literature secures cheerful occupation for the

unemployed and languid hours of life; and how many persons, in these hours, for want of innocent resources, are now impelled to coarse and brutal pleasures! How many young men can be found in this city who, unaccustomed to find a companion in a book, and strangers to intellectual activity, are almost driven, in the long, dull evenings of winter, to haunts of intemperance and depraving society! It is one of the good signs of the times that lectures on literature and science are taking their place among our public amusements, and attract even more than theatres. This is one of the first-fruits of our present intellectual culture. What a harvest may we hope for from its wider diffusion!

In these remarks, I have insisted on the importance of increasing innocent gratifications in a community. Let us become a more cheerful, and we shall become a more temperate, people. To increase our susceptibility of innocent pleasure, and to remove many of the sufferings which tempt to evil habits, it would be well if physical as well as moral education were to receive greater attention. There is a puny, half-healthy, half-diseased state of the body, too common among us, which, by producing melancholy and restlessness, and by weakening the energy of the will, is a strong incitement to the use of hurtful stimulants. Many a case of intemperance has had its origin in bodily infirmity. Physical vigor is not only valuable for its own sake, but it favors temperance, by opening the mind to cheerful impressions, and by removing those indescribable feelings of sinking, disquiet, depression, which experience alone can enable you to understand. I have pleaded for mental culture; but nothing is gained by sacrificing the body to the mind. Let not intellectual education be sought at the expense of health. Let not our children in their early years be instructed, as is too common, in close, unventilated rooms, where they breathe for hours a tainted air. Our

whole nature must be cared for. We must become a more cheerful, animated people; and for this end we must propose, in our systems of education, the invigoration of both body and mind.

I am aware that the views now expressed may not find unmixed favor with all the friends of temperance. To some, perhaps to many, religion and amusement seem mutually hostile; and he who pleads for the one may fall under suspicion of unfaithfulness to the other. But to fight against our nature is not to serve the cause of piety or sound morals. God, who gave us our nature, who has constituted body and mind incapable of continued effort, who has implanted a strong desire for recreation after labor, who has made us for smiles much more than for tears, who has made laughter the most contagious of all sounds, whose Son hallowed a marriage feast by his presence and sympathy, who has sent the child fresh from His creating hand to develop its nature by active sports, and who has endowed both young and old with a keen susceptibility of enjoyment from wit and humor, — He who has thus formed us cannot have intended us for a dull, monotonous life, and cannot frown on pleasures which solace our fatigue and refresh our spirits for coming toils. It is not only possible to reconcile amusement with duty, but to make it the means of more animated exertion, more faithful attachments, more grateful piety. True religion is at once authoritative and benign. It calls us to suffer, to die, rather than to swerve a hair's-breadth from what God enjoins as right and good; but it teaches us that it is right and good, in ordinary circumstances, to unite relaxation with toil, to accept God's gifts with cheerfulness, and to lighten the heart, in the intervals of exertion, by social pleasures. A religion giving dark views of God, and infusing superstitious fear of innocent enjoyment, instead of aiding sober habits, will, by making men abject and

sad, impair their moral force, and prepare them for intemperance as a refuge from depression or despair.

Two other means remain to be mentioned for removing the temptations to intemperance, and these are the discouragement of the use and the discouragement of the sale of ardent spirits in the community.

First, we should discourage the use of ardent spirits in the community. It is very plain — too plain to be insisted on — that to remove what intoxicates is to remove intoxication. In proportion as ardent spirits are banished from our houses, our tables, our hospitalities, — in proportion as those who have influence and authority in the community abstain themselves, and lead their dependents to abstain, from their use, — in that proportion the occasions of excess must be diminished, the temptations to it must disappear. It is objected, I know, that, if we begin to give up what others will abuse, we must give up everything, because there is nothing which men will not abuse. I grant it is not easy to define the limits at which concessions are to stop. Were we called on to relinquish an important comfort of life because others were perverting it into an instrument of crime and woe, we should be bound to pause and deliberate before we act. But no such plea can be set up in the case before us. Ardent spirits are not an important comfort, and in no degree a comfort. They give no strength; they contribute nothing to health; they can be abandoned without the slightest evil. They aid men neither to bear the burden nor to discharge the duties of life; and in saying this, I stop short of the truth. It is not enough to say that they never do good; they generally injure. In their moderate use, they act, in general, unfavorably on body and mind. According to respectable physicians, they are not digested like food, but circulate unchanged like a poison through the system. Like other poisons, they may occasionally benefit as medicines; but when

made a beverage by the healthy, they never do good; they generally are pernicious. They are no more intended by Providence for drink, than opium is designed for food. Consider next, that ardent spirits are not only without benefit when moderately used, but that they instigate to immoderate use; that they beget a craving, a feverish thirst, which multitudes want power to resist; that in some classes of society great numbers become their victims, are bereft by them of reason, are destroyed in body and soul, destroyed here and hereafter; that families are thus made desolate, parents hurried to a premature grave, and children trained up to crime and shame. Consider all this, and then judge, as in the sight of God, whether you are not bound to use your whole influence in banishing the use of spirits, as one of the most pernicious habits, from the community. If you were to see, as a consequence of this beverage, a loathsome and mortal disease breaking out occasionally in all ranks, and sweeping away crowds in the most depressed portion of society, would you not lift up your voices against it? And is not an evil more terrible than pestilence the actual frequent result of the use of spirituous liquors? That use you are bound to discourage; and how? By abstaining wholly yourselves, by excluding ardent spirits wholly from your tables, by giving your whole weight and authority to abstinence. This practical, solemn testimony, borne by the good and respectable, cannot but spread a healthful public sentiment through the whole community. This is especially our duty at the present moment, when a great combined effort of religious and philanthropic men is directed against this evil, and when an impression has been made on the community surpassing the most sanguine hopes. At the present moment, he who uses ardent spirits, or introduces them into his hospitalities, virtually arrays himself against the cause of temperance and humanity. He not merely gives an example to

his children and his domestics which he may one day bitterly rue; he withstands the good in their struggles for the virtue and happiness of mankind. He forsakes the standard of social reform, and throws himself into the ranks of its foes.

After these remarks, it will follow that we should discourage the sale of ardent spirits. What ought not to be used as a beverage ought not to be sold as such. What the good of the community requires us to expel, no man has a moral right to supply. That intemperance is dreadfully multiplied by the number of licensed shops for the retailing of spirits, we all know. That these should be shut, every good man desires. Law, however, cannot shut them except in a limited extent, or only in a few favored parts of the country. Law is here the will of the people, and the legislature can do little unless sustained by the public voice. To form, then, an enlightened and vigorous public sentiment, which will demand the suppression of these licensed nurseries of intemperance, is a duty to which every good man is bound, and a service in which each may take a share. And not only should the vending of spirits in these impure haunts be discouraged; the vending of them by respectable men should be regarded as a great public evil. The retailer takes shelter under the wholesale dealer, from whom he purchases the pernicious draught; and has he not a right so to do? Can we expect that he should shrink from spreading on a small scale what others spread largely without rebuke? Can we expect his conscience to be sensitive, when he treads in the steps of men of reputation? Of the character of those who vend spirits I do not judge. They grew up in the belief of the innocence of the traffic, and this conviction they may sincerely retain. But error, though sincere, is error still. Right and wrong do not depend on human judgment or human will. Truth and duty may be hidden

for ages; but they remain unshaken as God's throne; and when, in the course of His providence, they are made known to one or a few, they must be proclaimed, whoever may be opposed. Truth, truth, is the hope of the world. Let it be spoken in kindness, but with power.

Some of the means of withstanding intemperance have now been stated. Other topics, were there time, I should be glad to offer to your attention. But I must pause. I will only add that every lover of his race has strong encouragement to exert himself for the prevention of intemperance. The striking success of societies instituted for this end should give animation and hope. But even had these associations and these efforts failed, I should not despair. From the very terribleness of the evil, we may derive incitement and hope in our labors for its suppression. It cannot be that God has created moral beings to become brutes, or placed them in circumstances irresistibly impelling them to this utter renunciation of the proper good of their nature. There are, there must be, means of prevention or cure for this deadliest moral disease. The unhappiness is, that too many of us who call ourselves the friends of temperance have not virtue and love enough to use powerfully the weapons of the spirit for the succor of the tempted and fallen. We are ourselves too sensual to rescue others from sensuality. The difference between us and the intemperate man is too small to fit us for his deliverance. But that there are means of withstanding intemperance, that it is the design and tendency of Christianity to raise up men fit and worthy to wield these means, and that there are always some who are prepared to lead the way in this holy work, I cannot doubt. I see, indeed, a terrible energy in human appetites and passions. But I do not faint. Truth is mightier than error; virtue than vice; God than the evil man. In contending earnestly against intemperance we have the help and friendship of

Him who is Almighty. We have allies in all that is pure, rational, divine in the human soul, in the progressive intelligence of the age, in whatever elevates public sentiment, in religion, in legislation, in philosophy, in the yearnings of the parent, in the prayers of the Christian, in the teaching of God's house, in the influences of God's Spirit. With these allies, friends, helpers, let good men not despair, but be strong in the faith that in due time they shall reap, if they faint not.

NOTES.

I have spoken of the causes of intemperance which are found in our state of society. I should wrong, however, the community to which I belong were I to leave the impression that our social condition offers nothing but incitements to this vice. It presents obstacles as well as affords facilities to it. And this ought to be understood, as an encouragement to the efforts which, according to the preceding remarks, we are bound to make for its suppression. The growth of intelligence among us is a powerful antagonist to intemperance. In proportion as we awaken and invigorate men's faculties, we help them to rise above a brutal life; we take them out of the power of the present moment, enlarge their foresight, give them the means of success in life, open to them sources of innocent pleasure, and prepare them to bear part in respectable society. It is true that intelligence or knowledge is not virtue. It may not overcome selfishness; but it makes our self-love wiser and more reflecting, gives us a better understanding of our own interests, teaches prudence if not generosity, and, in this way, is a powerful guardian against ruinous excess. We have another defence against intemperance

in our freedom. Freedom nourishes self-respect, and, by removing all obstructions to exertion, by opening to men the means of bettering their lot, favors an animated, hopeful industry, thus rescuing a people from depression, despondence, and languor, which are among the chief temptations to brutalizing excess. It is indeed said that freedom generates all forms of licentiousness, and consequently, intemperance. But it is, I believe, a well-established fact that this vice has decreased since our struggle for independence. The habits and manners of the last generation were more perilous to temperance than our own. Social intercourse was more deformed by excess. Men in mature life visited taverns, and the young could not meet without the danger of drowning reason in wine. It is a false notion that we are wholly indebted for our present reform in this particular to temperance societies. These have done great good, and deserve great praise; but the influence which is now carrying us on preceded them. They are its effects, not causes. An important change of habits had commenced before their institution, and this seems to me an important view, and one of the chief encouragements to joint and individual exertion for the suppression of this vice. Did I believe that our present social condition offered nothing but materials to intemperance, that it excluded all contrary influences, and that our whole hope for stemming this evil rested on the temperance societies, I should be tempted to despond. Such societies can avail little, except when they act in concurrence with causes in the condition of society. Such causes exist, and one great use of temperance societies is to bring them into more energetic and extensive action.

I have not insisted on one of the means of temperance on which great stress has been laid — that is, the influence

of Public Opinion. To bring this to bear against intemperance has been regarded by not a few as the chief method of subduing the evil. Too much, I think, is hoped from it. One obvious remark is, that the classes most exposed to intemperance are removed very much from the power of public opinion. But, passing over this, I think we generally look to this influence for more than it can accomplish. We lay upon it a greater weight than it can bear. Public opinion may even work against the cause which it is meant to support, when made a substitute for individual exertion. A man, temperate because public opinion exacts it, has not the virtue of temperance, nor a stable ground of temperance habits. The remark is especially applicable to these times. Opinion, in former days, was more permanent than at present. There were few or no causes in operation to unsettle general convictions. Society was cast into fixed forms. Ages passed away, and slight changes were seen in manners and in modes of thinking. But the present is a revolutionary age. Society, breaking from its old moorings, is tossed on a restless and ever-stormy ocean. Opinion no longer affords that steady guidance which in former times supplied the place of private judgment and individual principle. There is no truth which sophistry does not now assail, no falsehood which may not become a party bond. The great work to which religion and benevolence are now called is, not to sweep away multitudes by storm, not to lay on men the temporary, brittle chains of opinion, but to fix deep, rational conviction in individuals, to awaken the reason to eternal truth and the conscience to immutable duty. We are apt to labor to secure to virtue the power of fashion. We must secure to it the power of conviction. It is the essence of fashion to change. Nothing is sure but truth. No other foundation can sustain a permanent reform. The temperance which rests on other men's opinions and

practice is not a man's own virtue, but a reflection of what exists around him. It lies on the surface. It has not penetrated the soul.

That opinion may exert a great and useful influence is not denied; but it must be enlightened opinion, appealing to the reason and the conscience of the individual; not to passion, interest, or fear, nor proscribing all who differ. We want public opinion to bear on temperance, but to act rationally, generously, not passionately, tyrannically, and with the spirit of persecution. Men cannot be driven into temperance. Let the temperate become a party, and breathe the violence of party, and they will raise up a party as violent as their own. The friends of truth must not call passion to their aid, for the erroneous and vicious have a greater stock of passion than they, and can wield this weapon to more effect. It is not by numbers or a louder cry that good men are to triumph over the bad. Their goodness, their consciousness of truth and universal love, must be manifested in clear, strong, benevolent appeals to the reason and heart. They must speak in the tone of the friend of their race. This will do infinitely more than the clamor of hosts.

It seems to me an important remark that public opinion cannot do for virtue what it does for vice. It is the essence of virtue to look above opinion. Vice is consistent with, and very often strengthened by, entire subserviency to it. It is a motive to be cautiously used, because the mind which passively yields to it will find it a debilitating rather than an invigorating influence. The moral independence which can withstand public sentiment is men's only safety. Whenever public sentiment shall be enlightened enough to promote this superiority to itself, it will be a noble spring. In proportion as it wars against this self-subsistence, it subverts the only foundation of substantial, enduring reform.

It is sometimes very hazardous to attempt to extirpate a common vice by making it disgraceful, and passing on it a sentence of outlawry. If, indeed, the vice be confined to the poor and obscure, the brand of infamy may easily be fixed on it; but when it spreads higher, and is taken under the protection of fashion, it can not only parry the weapon of disgrace in the hand of its adversaries, but turn this against them. Fashion is singularly expert in the use of ridicule. What it wants in reason it can supply in sneers and laughter. Sometimes it puts on indifference as a coat of mail. It has especially the art of attaching the idea of vulgarity to a good cause; and what virtue has courage to encounter this most dreaded form of opinion?

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RELIGION ITS OWN EVIDENCE.

As the substance, of which all religions are specific forms, religion may be considered without reference to the "Christian evidences." Being an independent manifestation of human nature going through certain peculiar experiences, it may be regarded as having a basis of its own, without reference to an "ethical basis" or a "scientific basis." These latter are the foundations of science and ethics, — two great classifications of observed human experience which cannot be confounded with religion or with one another, without confusion of thought.

What, then, is religion? It is a definite form of experience resulting from the necessary contact of human beings with the system of things of which they form a part. It is the object of this essay to show in part the nature of this experience, to note some of its successive phases, with the emotions excited, and their characteristic forms of expression.

1. Power. The first experience of every child brings it into more or less conscious relations with energy in its various forms. When it would lift its tiny hand, an unseen power pulls it down again. When it essays to rise upon its tender feet, the power drags it back, and will not let it stand and walk until it has found within itself some capacity of resistance, in the force of its own will and the energy which comes under its own control. Continuing its contention with Power, it finds each day a larger

measure of energy at its disposal, together with greater flexibility and control of the organs through which it is exerted. It learns to walk, ride, climb, swim, work. (The Power forbids it to fly.) Every new experience reveals a new mode of the omnipresent energy. In the forest, on the shore of the ocean, — wherever air and water moved in wind and storm and pleasant breeze; in the earthquake and the volcano; in the changes of the seasons and all such phenomena of Nature greatly affecting his life, — man constantly and anxiously watched the exhibition of Power, and compared it with the strength given to himself; measured the little force which came within the limits of his personality with the power with which he had to do, and decided that the contest was too unequal. He was helpless in the grasp of Power upon which he was absolutely dependent.

In low forms of social development, — represented, for example, by Browning's Caliban, — the Power (whether called He or It) is regarded as something which can hurt or help; which indeed contains within its unknown potency all possible hurt or help which may come from benignant skies or baleful pestilence, from fruitful earth or demonic power ravaging the earth and destroying life and the means of life. Caliban

> "Conceiveth all things will continue thus,
> And we shall have to live in fear of Him
> So long as He lives, keeps His strength; no change,
> If he have done his best, make no new world
> To please him more, so leave off watching this, —
> If he surprise not even the quiet self
> Some strange day, — or suppose, grow into it
> As grubs grow into butterflies; else, here are we,
> And there is He, and nowhere help at all."

Caliban has a very vivid conception of power and of his dependence on it; and this sense, mean and bare though

it be, is the root of religion. This sense of dependence on power accompanies man as he rises through all the grades of developing life until he attains to the most sublime conceptions of his relations to Omnipotence. By some, it has been made the essence of all religion. It is an element in all religious experience, because man can never escape it; but it is a principal element only in the lower forms of nature worship and fetichism. When once it had shaped itself in the human mind as a source of emotion, religion began to be, and worship in its rudest form was instituted.

Summary. There has been made upon the sensitive nature of man an impression that we are dependent upon Power which we cannot live without, cannot escape, and cannot successfully resist. This impression has been continually made and constantly repeated in striking forms until it has become hereditary and instinctive. It is the first element in the religious consciousness of the race; and, without a doubt, it is universal.

The principal emotions excited are hope and fear.

The characteristic is dependence.

2. Mystery. Not long after human beings begin to establish conscious relations with Power, there comes the perception of mystery.

What is mystery? It is that form of human knowledge in which the known reveals the existence and presence, but not the nature, of the unknown. If there be no knowledge, there can be no mystery. If there be perfect knowledge, there can be no mystery. The mysterious is that of which one knows something, enough to know that there is more out of sight which might be known if one had opportunity. It is said that mystery is the child of ignorance and the imagination. But whatever is wholly imaginary is no mystery. A real mystery begins in the known, — a

solid bridge of fact over which we advance to the knowledge of the unknown. Rightly comprehended, mystery is the mother of science. Wrongly taken, it is the prolific source of superstition. No man can know that any mystery is inscrutable. His half knowledge is a challenge to investigation, and an omen of success. Where knowledge cannot go, the imagination can; and, if any mystery should ever be regarded as beyond the reach of the intellect of man, that would speedily become the centre about which superstitions would begin to group themselves.

In the early days of human development, the imagination of man was powerfully stimulated by the presence of the unknown. His intellect was excited, and his emotions aroused in the attempt to find out what lay outside of and beyond that which he saw.

Everything that he learned to know quickly conducted him to something which he did not know. The force of gravity, the power of the sunshine, storms, sleep, dreams, birth, life, sorrow, joy, disease, death, — all such things in experience brought him into the presence of mystery which excited his intelligence and stimulated his curiosity, while it increased his hopes and his fears. He penetrated each mystery with ease, only to find it deepen at every step of his advance. His imagination began to fill the unknown with things fit to satisfy his hopes and account for his fears. He began to imagine beings capable of wielding and controlling the mighty forces which were at work around him. The darkness he peopled with the creatures of his dreams; and, beyond the void of death, his desire prompted him to build for himself a refuge. Religion began to be something more than a hope or a fear attaching itself to the Power in the grasp of which all life is held. The gloom and awe of the deepening mystery of life and that which includes life began to press upon the imagination. In India and in Egypt, in the most ancient

historic times, the eternal Presence and the inscrutable Power had become the themes of contemplation; and, in sublime forms of speech, worshippers had begun to describe the mystery of existence, and worship had begun to take on dignity.

Herbert Spencer finds in this sense of mystery the ground and essence of religion. Undoubtedly, it always has been and always will be a powerful stimulus to the religious imagination, and will continue to be, as it has been, the constant cause of awe and wonder. But the low, and not the high, forms of religion have been created by it. Persia, Greece, and Rome advanced to a higher and broader thought by giving place to a new experience which came next in order, as man thought about himself and the universe of which he was a part.

Summary. There has been made upon the sensitive nature of man the impression that around the known in human life is a greater unknown, in which are the sources of that which hurts or helps, and which it behooves man to comprehend; and there has grown up a great longing to have personal relations with the source of life.

The principal emotions excited are hope and fear, curiosity and wonder.

The characteristic is wonder.

3. Wisdom. An early discovery was that in the mystery order was to be observed: that Power seemed to be controlled; that effect was linked to cause; that there was an orderly sequence of events to be learned and predicted; that whatever was clearly beyond human control seemed to come under the control of some other will or mind or power. Man thought he saw signs of thought, plan, purpose, intelligence, something akin to his intellectual life. The thought grew upon him that the mysterious Power

was alive and knew. He began to wonder if the human mind was not the offspring of an unseen Mind, and human wisdom the inspiration of an unseen Wisdom. He found it impossible to believe that in the amazing universe which he began to know man was the only intelligence, the only living being, the only thinker. Something had power; and no argument, however ingenious, has ever been so framed as to convince him that, if man should cease to be, all consciousness would vanish from the universe; that nothing would then be alive and aware of the wonderful processes which excited his admiration the more, the more he knew them. His anthropomorphic reasoning was: "I came out of the Power, I am like the Power. Therefore, the Power is like me, but vaster." Rude and imperfect reasoning it was. It has given the philosophers cause for merriment ever since. But the impression made has never been removed, and it has powerfully affected the common life of the race. Whether there be good reason for the belief or not, the impression is strong that there is a Wisdom which includes, if it do not inspire, our wisdom, and a Consciousness which includes, if it do not cause, our consciousness. The nature of the universe is such as to make this impression upon the unfolding mind of man. When he began to think thus of the mystery of the universe, man took on new relations with his Maker, whether regarded as He or It. When he began to believe that the Power which he could neither escape nor resist was itself under the control of wisdom, the superstitions which had grown up as partial forms of knowledge began to disappear. With the awe and wonder of the conception, a great reverence awoke. He began to worship the Wisdom, to regard it as infinite and eternal, and by that worship his own nature was dignified. Religion, in many forms, had already founded many institutions. The gods were already on their thrones, and for ages had ruled the world through

the hopes and fears, awe and wonder, of mankind. But now religion took on nobler forms. Fears were dispelled, hopes were dignified, and superstitions began to take their flight. Theism began to be, as a direct result of the apparent revelation of wisdom as a controlling power in the affairs of men. As knowledge has increased, theistic belief and worship have expanded; and great strength, steadiness, and courage have come into human life as the consequences of reliance upon infinite Wisdom.

Summary. The impression made upon the sensitive nature of man by the facts of experience has been that there is a Wisdom greater than human wisdom and a Consciousness other than human consciousness. By an impulse never accounted for, man began to worship the Wisdom; and the impulse has become hereditary and instinctive.

The principal emotions excited are fear, hope, wonder, curiosity, awe, and reverence.

The characteristic is reverence.

4. Justice. About this time, whether before or after we cannot tell, another question was suggested to man by the facts of his experience. From other sources and through other experiences there had come to him a conception of justice. He had begun to talk about right and wrong in human relations, and to insist upon fair play among those who were bound to one another by their social necessities. The suspicion was early excited that the Power, the Mystery, the Wisdom, not only acted according to the laws of thought, but also took note of these human relations of right and wrong among men. It seemed to favor that which men called good, and to oppose that which men called evil. If one attempted to be unjust to his fellows, there was a suspicion that he might have to answer for his fault to other than human opponents. There

were many seeming exceptions to the rule; but the wisest men agreed that it looked that way. Long before, men had been convinced that the Power had its favorites among men, serving some and destroying others. Now they began to wonder whether this was the reason for it; whether it was always on the right side, because it was right. Bolder thoughts began to suggest themselves: The Wisdom itself, — was it just? Did it so order its relations to the creatures who were in its power as to give them fair opportunity? Were its gifts rewards, and were its injuries punishments, and were they fairly distributed? Further than that went the questions of the ancient worshipper. Was the Wisdom itself true and righteous, itself the source of truth and righteousness? Hitherto, fear had controlled man, who, because he dared not do otherwise, had prostrated himself before the supreme Power. Now there seemed to be notable hints that man might stand erect in the consciousness that he who was the Judge of all the earth would himself do right, and that, doing right, man need have no fear of him whom he called God. Inexpressible was the relief when religion began to take on this ethical form. Justice in human relations received overwhelming reinforcement, all human virtues received new sanctions, and all the relations of man to man were dignified by the belief that man entered into similar relations with the sublime object of his worship, the Being from whom he received his life and strength and such wisdom as he had.

Doubts still arose, and have never been wholly set at rest, because it is clear that in many ways the divine in its methods is unlike the human administration of justice. Many events seemed to contradict the assertion of absolute justice. Sometimes God seemed capricious and cruel. Sometimes he seemed to have favorites whom he loaded with undeserved favors; while upon others, blameless of

wrong, he heaped calamity. But out of large experience and a wider generalization there came great flashes of conviction that, on the whole, in a large way, the Power does right, — that it is intelligent and it is just. The great ways of Providence carried conviction that bridged the doubt, and encouraged the worshipper to believe that this seeming wrong was only part of the mystery to be made clear when all was understood. The singular fact was noted, which greatly confirmed the faith of the worshipper, that they who most eagerly doubted the divine justice were not those who had suffered most. Out of the holiday experience of men came the loudest complaints. Out of the sorrows of men came the faith and hope, the great psalms of praise and the great prayers of trust.

The main course of human experience suggested the idea of the divine justice, and yet it did not force itself on the attention as do the fact and exertion of power. It waits for a higher intelligence in man. It comes out of a more complicated experience, and depends more upon the moral state of the observer. But, a certain stage of development being reached, it never fails to suggest itself; and, when once it enters the mind, religion receives new interpretation and takes on new functions. By a curious confusion of thought (so great is the force of this impression), they who think it wise to deny that the mysterious Power is wise or intelligent, still often assert an infinite principle of justice, a supreme and awful principle, to which all intelligent creatures must bow.

Summary. Upon the sensitive nature of man the impression has been often made, and in striking forms, that right is not a human law alone, but is part of the nature of things. The impression has become hereditary and instinctive, and powerfully impels men to worship the Being who is conceived as the source of all right and justice.

The emotions excited are fear, hope, wonder, curiosity, awe, reverence, obligation, and loyalty.

The characteristic is loyalty.

5. Goodness. All the joyous acts of life, all its bright, glad, noble experiences, suggest the conviction that the Power feels as we do, or at least desires *us* to feel as we do; that it is sympathetic, that it wishes well to man. The sense of loyalty to a Power which is as just as it is powerful, the reverence which awoke when the infinite Wisdom was revealed, easily shape themselves into loving admiration and affectionate regard. Man, in the full enjoyment of his strength, regarding the beautiful aspects of Nature and eagerly partaking of its bounty, seeing in the mystery of Nature a source of life, light, and joy, was easily excited to love and gratitude. The conviction that the Power is good was not to be resisted. To it the good man gladly yielded; and, doing so, a great joy, unknown before, came into his life. He had for ages been gathering strength and courage. New hopes had come to comfort him. Hints of greater things coming on for him out of the mystery of being had given dignity to his character. Loyalty to the right had given him great ambitions and inspirations. But, when upon his mind broke the fulness of the conviction that God was good, a new source of happiness and a new motive to action took possession of his sensitive nature and active powers. Loyalty to the Power which was just flamed up into love for the Power that was good.

Doubts afterward arose because the course of human experience is not uniform. Sorrow often came to cloud the sky of human life. But after sorrow, and often out of sorrow itself, there came great flashes of conviction that the Power wishes well to man. The wonder of it was that the deeper the experience of pain and sorrow,

the more assured the confidence that goodness and mercy are concerned in the administration of human affairs. Happy and prosperous men looked on when calamity befell others, and, noting the extremity of their pain, said to one another, "Surely, now he will curse God and die;" and when, instead of cursing and despair, some new song of confidence burst from the sufferer's lips, the wonder grew as to the mystery of the divine goodness. By evidence, men could never prove that the Power was wise or that it was good. But, by evidence also, men were never able to convince themselves that there was no God, or that he was not good, nor to change the main course of human thought away from the recognition of good-will in the administration of the central Power of the universe.

Summary. An impression has been made upon the sensitive nature of man that gratitude and love are due to the Power by which we live. The impression often made has been continually repeated in striking forms, and has become hereditary and instinctive.

The principal emotions excited are hope and fear, wonder, curiosity, awe, reverence, obligation, loyalty, gratitude, and love.

The characteristic is love.

Religion, then, is a certain attitude of man in the presence of the supreme Power with which he has to do. It is the inevitable result of the impression made upon his sensitive nature by his attempt to establish relations with the universe in which he finds himself. The great facts make upon him the impression that power, mystery, wisdom, justice, and love are in immediate and constant contact with his life. The characteristic religious sentiments thereby excited are dependence, wonder, reverence, loyalty, and love. These combined are religion of a form

high or low, as one element or another predominates, and as they originate in base or noble natures, directed to base or noble ends. In their high and natural expression, they lift the whole nature to higher levels of trust, happiness, and courage. They prepare man for action. They give him a proper setting for the virtues. If religious men are not good (which is entirely possible and very common), because their development has been partial and one-sided in their human relations, still, if the religious impression be strong, if they have been greatly convinced that the power of which they are a part, be it divine or devilish (two words from the same root), is carrying out purposes in which they are necessarily implicated, that it has designs of which they are or may be the executors, they become exceedingly more influential than the irreligious in shaping the fortunes of society. The religious man is a force, and cannot be eliminated from the problem of modern development. For no sooner is one religion suppressed than nature produces another.

If religion take on a high form, its fruits are joy, peace, aspiration, a noble ambition, an elastic courage, a great expectation. If it take a low form, the emotions will still have their way, but in remorse and shame, in ignoble fears, in ignoble and selfish worship of the Power upon which even the evil-minded, if intelligent, must consciously depend for life and for such happiness as is possible to them. Herbert Spencer's latest book, while affirming agnosticism with great vigor, closes with these words concerning the man of science: "Amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty that he is ever in presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed." With that certainty ever before him, the coming man, be he scientific or otherwise, will sometimes be powerfully moved by the necessity of

ordering his life in accordance with the laws of that energy, and will in time develop anew, if he ever loses all existing forms of religion, something which will powerfully move his emotions and his imagination, and influence his conduct; and that will still be religion. Religion, as thus conceived, is the outcome of knowledge based on personal experience. Now, to this body of organized knowledge, what relation have the evidences, Christian, scientific, ethical, — what right relation?

1. Christian Evidences. Their nature and validity it is not necessary to discuss at length, because there is now little question among well-instructed people as to the independence of the religious sentiment, and the validity of the testimony offered by the religious consciousness of the race, before, outside of, and independent of Christianity. The evidences, in so far as they are valid, confirm the religious impression, — they do not supplant it. On this point there is little controversy; and it is only necessary to say that, whatever course our thought may take, we are brought at last to one example, — Jesus and his teaching. Of this, we note the fact that, in going up the scale of experiences, we find at the bottom every one in the hands of power, not every one at the top in conscious relations with goodness; and that, as men rise to successive heights of spiritual experience, they find that Jesus has been there before them. Whether men regard religion as a good or an evil thing in human society, there is substantial unanimity of opinion on this point. There is also increasing accord of belief in the statement that truth must furnish its own credentials. Truth and goodness unite in the words and life of Jesus, not made true and good by his word, but chosen and honored by him because they were self-evident and to him authoritative. Religion is not based on Christianity, but Christianity is based on religion.

2. Scientific Evidences. What is a scientific basis of religion? It has no scientific basis. It never had one, and it never can have. Facts have no scientific basis. Theories, hypotheses, intellectual systems, may or may not have a scientific basis. But religion is neither a theory, an hypothesis, nor an intellectual system. It is an experience. Science may furnish and multiply the occasions which excite religious emotion, — a service which it may often render to æsthetics or ethics. But religion, æsthetics, and ethics do not, therefore, become scientific, unless one should say that all truth, being agreeable to the principles of science, is therefore scientific. But, strictly speaking, science does not begin with experience nor with conscious knowledge, but with reflection, comparison, and classification. Truth is not a synonym of science.

Science is simply a co-ordination of facts according to their laws and relations. The facts have no scientific basis: the statement concerning the fact may. The attraction of gravitation and the motions of the heavenly bodies have no scientific basis. Kepler's laws have. Religion, being a fact of experience or nothing, can have no scientific basis; but theology, which is an attempt to co-ordinate and account for the facts of religious experience, may have one.

In the world of thought, just now a curious phenomenon is to be noted. There has been a vehement protest made against the ancient method of using the Christian evidences, on the ground that truth bore its own credentials, and could not be proved by evidence, however well attested. It must be a matter not of hearsay, but of experience. But now, in the name of science, many who most earnestly deprecated the old method, as tending to formalism and dogmatism, are engaged in the attempt to introduce scientific evidences, to be used in the same way as the basis of religious faith, with the prospect of bringing about results

similar to those which they so much deplore. If the present attempt should be successful, the next generation would certainly cry out against the new yoke; for, in the name of science, we are in danger of setting up a new creed, a new bigotry, a new intolerance. Does not that which they mean who talk about the "scientific basis" of religion relate to another question, namely, Can the facts of religious experience be classified, verified, assigned to their proper causes, and reduced to a system? That question has nothing to do with the reality of the experiences in question; and they who raise it ought to know that what they are invoking is that which they deplore as a bugbear of the past, namely, systematic theology.

Now, on any subject, one may have great knowledge and not be scientific. That is, he may have had wide experience of many things, which he cannot properly describe and classify. A Nantucket shipmaster in the old time might easily have had knowledge enough to furnish a dozen young scientists with all the facts they could manipulate. One may be very scientific and have little knowledge. He may have proper ideas of classification, but have as yet few facts to set in order. His classification waits to be filled out, and will greatly assist in his researches.

This distinction may easily explain a puzzle, which has given not a little trouble to those who have tried to give up all religion which was not scientific. They cannot understand why some, at least, of the greatest examples of religious insight of a kind not yet surpassed, nor soon likely to be, are to be found in rude ages, while as yet science was without form, and void. "If religion," they have anxiously asked, "is to be in the future dependent upon science, how does it happen that, with the spread of science, the moderns do not easily surpass the ancients in religious experience, or at least show the beginnings of a great advance in that direction?"

Isaiah and the prophets, how did they know? Whence the knowledge of that man who, in the Book of Job, exhibits such accurate acquaintance with the secrets of universal human experience? Why are not these great imaginations of the ancient time dispelled instead of being made more real to us by the advance of knowledge? Why should not some disciple of Herbert Spencer easily surpass the Twenty-Third Psalm, if increase of science is to give us increase of religion, — religion being on a scientific basis? Simply because experience always precedes science. First come the great discoveries, then the great systems. There were men, in times which favored such moods, who surrendered themselves to great impressions. They were not scientific: they did not need to be. They were capable of experiences which smaller men might formulate and classify. Such a man as Isaiah might in an hour have experiences which it would puzzle an ordinary man, during his lifetime, to describe and classify. Probably he would have been entirely unable to describe them himself. Religion, which precedes theology and is not to be confounded with it, has no scientific basis, and does not owe its origin or certainties to the scientific methods which may be employed in the investigation of it. New and higher forms of religious experience may follow such scientific researches, and are to be hoped for and expected. Whether theology has such a basis or not depends upon other considerations not here to be discussed.

3. Ethical Basis. Has religion an ethical basis? No: it has no ethical basis, and in the nature of things can have none. Religion does not begin in ethics. It did not grow out of ethics. It was before ethics in origin, and has, during a great part of human history, wrought in life independently of, and, not infrequently, in distinct opposition to, the ethical sentiment. Let all sense of ethical

obligation be destroyed or reduced again to the level of the prehistoric standard, and still religion, although of a baleful sort, and threatening dire evils to mankind, would none the less be a power in human life not to be disregarded. To say that neither ethics nor religion can possibly attain to its best without the other is not to offer proof that they are in any sense identical, or can be based the one upon the other. Æsthetic feeling cannot attain to its best when divorced from morals. But they are not therefore identical. Ruskin says that an artist who is a bad man will die young or paint bad pictures when he is old. But that is not to say that art is based on morals.

The desire to identify ethics and religion is always the sign of a magnanimous intent. It means that one is so enamoured with goodness that nothing which is not good can be accepted and honored by him. During a great part of its history, the Church, in all its forms as an organized institution, has disparaged ethics, and done less than due honor to those who were more just than devout. They who see the defect of the Church reverse the process, and, in their generous ardor for fair play and due honor to every part of human nature, put ethics in the place of honor before occupied by religion. So doing, they repeat in reversed order the enormous mistake of the Church, and prepare the way for another revolution in the interest of the exact truth, and equal honors to all parts of the spiritual nature of man.

That a bad man cannot have a good religion, and that religion cannot come to its best when divorced from ethics, are statements so true and commonplace that they need no proof. But this is the plain English of the ethical basis. The heart sends its currents through both veins and arteries, and each depends upon the other. But veins and arteries are not therefore identical in origin, function, location, or structure. Remove one or the other, and the heart

will shed its blood with equal impartiality; and the ebbing life will show that both are essential parts of the organs of life.

Dogmatism has in the past been associated with religion; and, when the attempt is made to rehabilitate ethics, the danger is that one may confound religion with dogma, and so with magnanimous intent make a costly blunder. Dogma results from the attempt to make a final definition. But the definition is not the fact, and may be quite inadequate to represent it. Ethical experience is one thing, the description of it quite another; and dogmatism is quite as likely, — just now, for example, in the strife between transcendental and utilitarian ethics, rather more likely, — to attach itself to ethics as to religion. When we put religion on an ethical basis, the contention is not between ethics and dogma. Intend what we may, what we do is to set religion and ethics over against each other in an unnatural antagonism. Out of such a strife, evil and not good must come, and evil of the same kind which they wrought who insisted that ethics must be subsidiary to religion and subservient to it. Neither is subject to the other. Neither is the basis of the other. Both are elements of glorious beauty in that growing human nature which is large enough to hold them both in its ample bosom.

4. Religious Experience. The phrase is badly damaged, and yet is indispensable, because it has to do with a fact in the life of every man. Good or bad, every one must take some, if not all, of the five steps already described. (1) Even the bad man comes to a sense of dependence upon Power, which he cannot escape nor resist. That consciousness will go with him, the source of his noblest hopes and most degrading fears. He cannot do other than wonder at times whether the Power is working

with him or against him. When he believes that it is on his side, he rejoices, even in his evil, if that be in his heart. But, as he goes on into closer relations with the Power, upon which he makes his demands and from which he expects reinforcement, he becomes aware (2) of mystery. There is something more than he thought in the relation. If he be thoughtful, the great occasions of his own life will excite in him a certain awe and wonder, — his marriage, the birth of his children, their growth, their death, and the great joys and sorrows which these experiences bring. These will excite in him wonder as to the meaning of it all. (3) If he have the usual experiences of his kind, the suggestion of wisdom, or at least of intelligence in some way correspondent to his own, but greater, will break upon him. Then, if he be taking an upward course, and have the desire to give the best within himself a chance, there will come upon him a great longing to know what the Wisdom means by what it does, what it wishes and intends. Consciously or not, he prays: "Oh that I knew what the Wisdom asks of me, that I might do it! Oh that I might be guided, that I might know its ways!" Then (4), coming to the thought of the justice, the law, the eternal purity, and contrasting with them what he finds within himself, the soul within him shrinks for shame. As the revelation of the eternal Perfectness comes to him, he sees his folly, his weakness, and his sin; and he cries, "Woe is me; for I am a man of unclean lips, and mine eyes have seen the Lord of glory." Then his heart melts within him in contrition and tenderness; and another vision breaks upon him, and he hears (5) the proclamation which came to the seer in the wilderness: "The Lord is a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth;" and then, in the presence of the eternal goodness he is comforted.

It is possible for a man not ethically sound and good to

pass through all these experiences, but in a reversed order, resembling the other like a shadow cast in troubled water. The conviction comes upon him only to cause him terror, fearful wonder, shame, guilt, and remorse. It is his experience of religion, nevertheless.

Of all these things there is and can be no proof. They are the impressions made upon many successive generations of individuals, impressions which may be repeated indefinitely, and which yet cannot have scientific verification. For no experience can be like another. We look upon a person and love him, we cannot tell why. Our testimony would be accepted in no court of law, because we have nothing to offer but the memory of an impression; and yet, for such an impression, men have often risked their lives. No knowledge that we have is so sure except mathematical.

5. Science and Ethics. What, then, can they do? Everything which two of the most important parts of human nature can do for another part to keep it in time and tune with all the rest. Science opens the eyes, stimulates the imagination, reveals the mighty universe of fact with which the soul has to deal as it passes beyond the bounds of its own experience in its quest for knowledge of the eternal. Science removes difficulties and multiplies opportunities. It sets before the mind the immensities of time and space, the wondrous things out of the eternal law, the marvel and mystery of all being, even that which is simply the stuff which being uses. And, so doing, it gives the imagination of man the room which it requires for its flight, and vastly increases the number of the objects which make upon the sensitive nature impressions of sublimity and power.

Ethics: Who shall dare to disparage or slight that mystic power in man which, growing through all the ages

from the rudest beginnings, commands continually the growing life of man, and shapes it to finest issues? Springing, as it does, out of the necessary relations of man to man, it reveals itself as the only condition on which society can exist, the only way in which an individual can attain to his best. It clears the mind of ignoble ambitions. It purifies the heart, and so prepares the nature for freedom and joy and peace. The glad upspringing of the soul into the activity of being becomes its natural motion. Religion becomes a nobler thing, when it is the relation of a good man to the powers above. It is no longer the mere dependence of weakness upon Power, of ignorance seeking the infinite Wisdom. It becomes a revelation of moral issues, which demand of every creature that he shall be no longer a spectator of, but a participant in, the great processes by and through which the Power is working out the destiny of man, and of what besides one can only dimly see, while he believes it to be sublime beyond his power of conception.

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RELIGIOUS HABITS.

"They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength." — Isaiah xl. 31

The question of Delilah to Samson — "Tell me, I pray thee, wherein thy great strength lieth?" — was prompted by a display of power uncommon and surprising. The answer of the strong man told the story of a Nazarite's covenant with his God; the unshorn hair, the face unshaven, the natural, unembarrassed life, were the outward signs of a vow that had been taken by the parents and assumed by their child to belong without reserve to God, as they conceived God. The luxurious life of the time had not touched Samson, the dissipations of his people had not weakened him; his life had been natural and his purpose consistent, — to this he attributed his strength. He was a "tempered" man; he was not easily broken nor the edge of his power dulled. The suggestive story goes on to say that when he laid his head in the lap of the tempter and fell asleep, his locks were shorn, and soon the prison doors closed upon a blind and weak man who was to be shut up to menial work.

What moral lurks in this legend of the heroic age of Israel's judges? Is it not that he who consistently and persistently holds himself to a worthy purpose holds the secret of strength? Is it not that when a man thinks he can intermit his vigilance he casts away the guarantee of his liberty, and that should he complain of such incessant watchfulness against surprise, and protest he is weary, he

will probably be overtaken by harder tasks under baser conditions?

The Hebrew story contains the declaration that devotion is demanded in order to safety and power. This is a law of Nature, which insists upon an uninterrupted order. Pressure is only another name for Nature's effort to maintain its equilibrium. That history does not illustrate for the most part obedience to Nature's demand only shows our disobedience, and does not contradict the law. We are so disobedient that we must learn the laws of health, social, political, and personal, by the evidences of disease, and at great cost. Therefore is it that national well-being is reached by revolutions accomplished or just averted; social science learns much from social misadventure and disaster; and even our personal wisdom is often the result of determining "we will not be caught so again." These are some of the ways Nature takes of avenging her broken laws upon "the children of disobedience."

But evolution, not revolution, is the natural method. The processions of events are by nature regular, orderly, and long prepared. We admit this to be true when we see a coral reef; but it is just as true of an earthquake. We admit it as true when a mature life reaches the close of its days and finds death the natural inlet to a larger life; but it is just as true of suicide and murder, that cause and effect have been logically related. We admit readily this orderly procession and close connection in such moral events as the Lutheran Reformation, — we say of such events, they illustrate the philosophy of history; but if we would inquire into the matter faithfully, the interdependence of cause and effect would appear in the conversion of Saul and in the outbreak of the Salvation Army. Because results are different we need not suppose that Nature has repudiated her responsibility; the revenges of Nature are as certain as her benedictions.

These are truisms so trite that we agree to repudiate both the superstition which speaks of "the wrath of God" and the ignorance which ascribes anything to accident. And yet there is a "wrath of God" in which God has no immediate presence, and there is also a "philosophy of accidents."

Let us now consider illustrations of the intimate relation of cause and effect, of logical sequence in undeviating order in the sphere of personal religion.

What is personal religion? This is one of the current phrases in the vocabulary of cant which would never have been admitted to that vocabulary if it had not stood for a reality.

Religion is in the world, and there are in the world religions. But the sum of all religions is not religion; nor does the study of religions make a man religious. So, then, between religion and religions there must be a well-defined distinction. If in the study of religions we find certain principles which have become to those moved by them a philosophy of life giving manifestly good results in conduct, we will soon find the religious man. He is the individual in whom this philosophy of life is seen as power over sin to subdue it, as power over sorrow to crown it with peace, as power over others for their good, and as such a due reverence for the holiest as the highest that the life of the worshipper "is changed into the same image." When such a field of personal activity has been discovered, the field of personal religion has been reached, and the person reaching it has passed from irreligion to religion. He has a working-capital which is not borrowed nor stolen; it is his own. He has a conception of the meaning and use of life. He has become a willing "laborer together with God."

When such a religious person has been found it may be difficult to know what name to assign him among the many

names which are given to the sons of God, but it will not be difficult to discover the source of his strength as a worker in the kingdom of God. We shall find that this religious man is strong in proportion to his recognition of the laws which regulate consistent growth. He has made, after his own fashion, the discovery that the Hebrew prophet made who said, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength." "Waiting upon the Lord" is the Hebrew's way of expressing the uninterrupted devotion of an earnest soul to the highest that it knows. Emerson meant the same thing when he wrote to Carlyle: "Account me a drop in the ocean seeking another drop. Or, Godward, striving to keep so true a sphericity as to receive the due ray from every point of the concave heavens!" Kant meant the same reverence for the Eternal Order when he said: "Act as though the principle by which you act were by your will to be made a universal law of Nature." John Stuart Mill, his moral nature swept by grief over the death of his brother, said: "There is one plain rule of life eternally binding, and independent of all variations in creeds and interpretations of creeds, embracing equally the greatest moralities and the smallest: it is this: try thyself unweariedly till thou findest the highest thing thou art capable of doing, faculties and outward circumstances being both duly considered, and then — DO IT." Did not Paul pay tribute to the same power there is in persistent endeavor? He said: "This one thing I do, forgetting the things which are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before, I press on." Said Jesus: "I must work the works of Him that sent me, while it is day."

These are a few of the "cloud of witnesses" which might be called to testify, each "in the language in which he was born," to the truth of Isaiah's declaration, — "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength."

And what better can be promised than the renewal of our strength? Is not this the keenest pang in our review of the past,— that strength failed just when it was needed? Is not this the fear that haunts us, — that we will not be equal to the duty or danger we see before us? And would we so often make ignominious compromise if we could be sure of ourselves? It is a good promise this: "They shall renew their strength." They will not be seized by a sudden impulse toward the religious life for which they wait. It is not *waiting for* the Lord, but *waiting upon* the Lord, which will be the antecedent of this resultant strength. "They shall renew their strength; they shall mount up upon wings as eagles," — flying not as doves to be at rest, but as eagles that seek the sun and the upper air. "They go from strength to strength; every one of them in Zion appeareth before God."

This is the blessed consummation: the process of its accomplishment is logical and natural; the expenditure of labor has its equivalent in the strength which labor brings. It is a beautiful compensation in our nature in all its departments, that while we are putting our strength into our work, our work is putting strength into us. It needed no prayer, — "Establish Thou the work of our hands upon us." It will be *upon us* and *in us;* "we shall *receive the things done* in the body."

Thus do we come to the central thought in this "waiting upon the Lord." It is persistent work in a given line, work which has become the habit of our nature, — a second nature; *the habit* of the nature, that is, that with which mere nature clothes itself, — its habit. In most things we admit the value of repeated acts, — repeated until they become dispositions; duties done again and again until they become first tendencies, then tempers in us. Thus is the raw material of life wrought into character. We recognize the good sense of the distinction that in the assimilation

of knowledge there is to be "milk for babes" and "strong meat for those of full age;" that thus "the senses are exercised to discern good and evil" provision. But we are somewhat slow to admit that all good and all evil are to be discerned by the same process; that the exercised soul, the trained soul, is the discerning soul. It comes to pass, therefore, that though we allow the value of habits in every other sphere of human life, we relegate religion to *impulse*, and demand that it must be not so much *habitual* as *spontaneous*. We are very earnest for "naturalness," "spontaneity," and "freedom" in religion. This is just what ought to be, but with an understanding of what these words mean. Let us examine them. "Naturalness," — that is natural which is *constant*, not that which is occasional. The artificial is a substitute for the natural, the imitation takes the place of the genuine, only because Nature is constant to the pattern, repeating it often enough for us to see what it is like, and so enabling us to make what is like it. Naturalness is only another name for fidelity to a model, constancy in a plan.

Now, what is "spontaneity," of which we hear so much? We are prone to forget that word which lies at its root, — *sponte* (by the will). Is not this also at the root of all education? Is not the will the element most difficult to train, and can there be a greater disaster than for one to have a disobedient will, — a will always in rebellion? For not the assertion of the will, but its education, is strength. It must be an obedient subject of the laws before it is fit to be a judge of the laws. And what of "freedom" in religion? Surely this must be! But who are free? Certainly not the lawless. "They are the slaves of their own liberty." Here, also, freedom is in the exact ratio of obedience, and obedience is habitual docility and unimpeachable fidelity. Of the highest human — the freest soul that ever looked up to God it was said: "Though he

was a Son, yet *learned he obedience* by the things which he suffered."

So, then, "naturalness in religion" is a tribute paid to the constant and habitual. "Spontaneity in religion" is proof of a will so educated that it acts quickly and surely. And freedom in religion has kept the law, and there is no more consciousness of law because there is no violation of it. So all comes back to the training of a human soul by habits of religion. They do not harass nor disturb, because they are not resisted. Jesus said of the yoke he wore, and into which he invites us to put ourselves with him, "*My yoke is easy*, and my burden is light." Our strength well adjusted to our task, we are no longer galled by an unequal pressure nor crushed by a sudden burden.

Even when we deny the need of habitual observance of religious duties we still strongly urge the need of a religious temper. And yet this is impossible without the training of our inner life. The flowers in a conservatory are a vision of beauty, but the successful cultivation of them is a series of very arduous and prosaic details. Also, when we say we no longer need these routine duties of religion, we yet recommend them for our children. "They are yet unformed," we sometimes say. But childhood is not a question of size and age simply. The mature are no longer children; but some people are never ripe. They never grow up. They are always returning to immature views of life, — to be amused or to be corrected. All restlessness under restraint is childish. One must be law-abiding before he can be relieved of "tutors and governors." "If thou wilt *enter into life*, keep the commandments." Keeping these makes the difference between a beginner, a child, and one well on in life.

If it be admitted that the children need to form habits of religion, — need "to wait upon the Lord that they

may renew their strength,"—then if there are those who do not have this need themselves, they will often submit to routine observance lest they "cause one of these little ones to stumble." But this must be done with grace and heartiness which shall cause it to appear as a privilege embraced by the strong, not as a duty done grudgingly for the weak. This was a part of that "grace and truth that came by Jesus Christ,"—to take the place of "the law that was given by Moses."

The best substitute for what we call an outgrown exercise of religious observance will be found to be a higher exercise with a nobler observance; each advanced student holds in his possession the processes of learning *by which* he advanced.

To particularize: Let us consider the public services of the church. We can very well remember some, both men and women, to whom these public services seemed unnecessary. These saints had come, through many years of devoutest life, to have no need of the help which others must find in the sacred associations of the sanctuary,—the kindling of imagination by music and the sense of the communion of saints, the interpretation also of their deep-felt needs by prayer. These "of full age" had possibly a sense of nearness to the Holiest of all, deeper than the man who led the worship, and no music of the church could be so sweet as the unvoiced harmonies within their spirits. Such do not need the public services of religion. They have grown beyond this need; but *how* have they *grown* beyond the need? Surely *through constant use of just such means*. They do not need support,—these souls erect and strong; but they no more think of repudiating the value of such supports to those who need them, than a master of English speech denies the necessity for a training in grammatical accuracy, of which now he is wholly unmindful in detail. These strong, free children of

God need elementary training no longer; but usually they take their place in associations dear to them from long use, and become the teachers by example of the less mature. Such souls do not often put off the habits of religious observance; they are so free that these hamper them not in the using of them. Of that freest soul it is said: "He went into the synagogue, *as his custom* was, on the Sabbath-day."

But there are some not mature nor free who say they take nothing with them from the services, so they no longer attend. It is true of some of these that the failure to attend is not made more manifest by bodily absence. They did not *attend* — they failed of attention — in these services; their thoughts were in the world while their bodies were in the church. It is most true they took nothing away; they brought nothing to exchange in this mart where aspiration must precede inspiration.

If they mean they added nothing to the sum of their information, so far from that being a matter of regret it is an excellence. It is not the business of the church to compete with the daily press and literature for patronage. It is not the business of the church to furnish entertainment or intellectual excitement. The purpose of the services is to quicken the religious life, to awake the devout affections, to lift to worship, to move Christian men and women to sympathy, to emphasize that wholesome thought, "the household of faith and family of God;" and in carrying away such results as these much depends upon what the worshipper brings to the house of prayer; *he is a prime factor* in the sum of influences there. For these influences the church is maintained; if, then, these wearied men and women drop out of the services altogether, or give only an occasional and indifferent attention to them, allowing small hindrances to detain them, or are incapacitated for a proper attention in them by the exhaustion of freshness of spirit

by the week's work or dissipations, then nothing of good will come to them from such services; but the neglect and superficiality will tell upon their own nature and on their home life. Such persons often wonder why the church does not attract the young. The young cannot think that admirable which their elders treat with contempt. No boast of being beyond the need of such things will obliterate the fact of ignorance of the spiritual life and enfeebled spiritual apprehension. Such as these must return to a maintenance of the habits of religion or else find a substitute for these habits which will produce better results, and which can be safely recommended to their children; for amid all changes, human need and the constitution of the human soul remain unchanged.

Let us consider this matter of habits of religious life in another particular. We have seen some who smile with a tender affection, but a feeling of superior wisdom, when simple elder folk talk about the habit of reading the Bible; for still there are some to whom this book seems like a never-failing spring of refreshment. They study it, not critically, but devoutly.

This is not the new way of using the Scriptures. By some the Scriptures are studied critically, and these have placed all the world of Bible-students in their debt; by some the Scriptures are used devotionally, and by others read simply as a literature of greater or less interest. To none who have given the Scriptures right attention are they any longer a statute-book of ready reference for final appeal. None of these methods corresponds with the elder *habit* of daily reading of the Scriptures, "which they have known from their youth." These elder Christians communed with Psalmist and Prophet; they followed Jesus from point to point of his ministry; they sat in the company of the Apostles and read the Epistles with a

feeling of reality, as did the infant church. Is our way the only way, or is there wisdom in this older habit also? We often see significant lack of this older habit in the newer method; for in those subjects of current debate which so often cross the ground of the Bible and have so much to do with the nature of man, it often appears that the debaters are painfully ignorant of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures in their plain words, unable to quote the words, and hopelessly confused as to the sense. Of course a knowledge of the whole Bible has no vital relation to human well-being or character; but it would seem desirable that Christian men and women should be able to repeat correctly the precepts of Jesus and should know the facts of his life and the motives he assigned for his living. Unless they are thus familiar with so much of the Bible, they ought not to attempt to take part in any conversation on the grounds of Christian faith and practice. Their duty is silence. It is the only compensation ignorance can offer to the world, which is deeply interested in these very subjects so familiar to the elder Christians among us.

But there is a better reason yet for an habitual reading of the Scriptures. Nothing so steadies us as frequent mental contact with those who are sure of the Eternal Verities. There is an assurance of faith in these best parts of the Bible that is contagious; and a quiet comes which, if it is not strength and knowledge, affords a better temper in which to gain knowledge and strength. These are the utterance in terms of experience of the sublimest thoughts that can visit us from the unseen. Familiarity with these seems to be a necessary element in religious education. This or some sufficient substitute must be used: for the training of the human soul will go on by some method accepted by our will or forced on us unaware. The easiest and shortest road by which the mind of the young is ruined

debased, is that so often taken: they are turned loose upon business occupations or superficial literature by day, and upon the frivolities of social life by night; thus no hour is saved for quiet thought, contact with noble minds, and the pondering of those results of divine communion which have produced the Holy Scriptures of all the past. It is only in these quiet times that the spirit grows in that power which will make all our other life a blessing and a joy. Some habit of religious reading we ought to have; it is necessary; it soon becomes delightful. The prophet need not be Hebrew, but he must be a prophet; the psalmist need not sing in Palestine or Chaldea, but he must have a heavenly harmony in his song.

There remains one other particular in which habits of the religious life assume the gravest importance. It is the value which attaches to the habits of devotion, — the need of prayer as a habit of the soul. It is frequently said that our whole life ought to be a prayer; that prayer ought to be offered when we are moved to pray; that formalism is of all things to be avoided. This is all true; but it does not often happen that these true things are said by the people who have the best means of knowing how true they are. Those whose spirits pray continually, who unconsciously live in an atmosphere spiritual and vital, to whom praying is natural as breathing (it is aspiration and inspiration), — these are not the people who warn us against habits of prayer, and they are the only people whose word is worth much attention on this subject. They have "continued in prayer and watched in the same, with thanksgiving." They have verified the statement that there is no sound life without prayer; that prayer is one of the laws of the higher life.

On the other hand, those who neglect these deep communings are still driven often to prayer by dire extremity. When disaster threatens them, when sickness lays hold on

their beloved, when the pressure of life seems more than they can bear alone, then they try to pray; they

> "stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
> And gather dust and chaff, and call
> To what [they] feel is Lord of all,
> And faintly trust the larger hope."

But how often is it true that all this is not in the best sense prayer! It takes on the form of supplication, petition, expostulation; our agony besieges God; and behind all this lies the barren waste of an uneducated will and a stubborn selfishness. Thus rebels plead for mercy; thus does not a child of God commune with its Father, seeking to know and to do His will. There can be no "nearness of access with confidence" unless our feet have often walked that road.

It ought to be no wonder that so we plead for religious habits as a means to spiritual culture; this is "the way of the Spirit." There is no royal road to anything: the king going to his coronal must go by the same road his subjects travel; therefore is it said of Jesus, "though he was a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered."

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THE MAKING OF A SOUL.

At the first wisdom will walk with him by crooked ways, and bring fear and dread upon him, and torment him with her discipline, until she may trust his soul. — Ecclesiasticus iv. 17.

Thus the wise man described the process of making a soul. We have heard much, in religious teaching, of saving souls; but a far more important thought is that life is the field in which souls are practically being created, or developed out of the germs of a soul which every human being has at birth.

Of the myriads of people who have been born since the earth began to bear men-kind (some thousand or two centuries ago, it may be), how many have become souls, — creatures governed by reason, by tender love, by high moral purpose? How many have differed essentially in modes of living, in their observation of the world they lived in, in the regulation of their passions towards other beings, from dogs, jackals, or wolves? Is it then easy, as in the opinion of the unthinking, to tell what a soul is? That is, does the term mean simply a human life? And when we speak of the immortality of the soul, do we mean that if one has human shape he is sure to live the eternity of God? If he be a little short of human, — an intelligent monkey, a conscientious dog, a faithful, hard-working horse, — is he *not* a soul? If he be a savage, an idiot, a monster of immorality whose whole career has been a terror and a bane to the community which happened to be

infested with him, is he nevertheless an immortal soul? Or shall we enlarge the scope of immortality, and for the sake of saving some of our human kind, who surely have been less intelligent, useful, and agreeable to have about us than some of the brute kind, say, Whatever lives with instinctive activity has a soul and a prospect of immortality?

Without attempting now to grapple with so hard a matter as the definition of the line between beings likely to live after what we call death, and those for whom death ends all, I think we may agree that the sort of human beings who clearly ought to be immortal, in so far as they possess the graces of mind and character which would do enduring service for the universe wherever they might go, are, for the most part, those who have been shaped by life's experiences. The majority of persons whom, with due reverence for the word, we may call souls, — thoughtful, helpful, self-controlled, of generous aim, — are not *born* but *made* by the life in which they dwell, — by the interaction, the play upon each other of that which is within the man and that which is outside of him. And life, as you and I know it, is not altogether a summer's holiday, in which we have only to enjoy; it is also stern, hard, capricious, full of terrors and pains, baffling and disappointing us ofttimes up to our dying hour. So it must be that if the world has God in it, the so-called hard and bad things are indispensable to making us moral and spiritual beings; that is, it is the combating just these disagreeable things which imparts to souls some of their finest fibre and quality.

This doctrine is in the face of two others very commonly held. The impression given by a large class of religious teachers is that men are like passengers through the world, needing one or two assurances, which only certain churches can impart, that they are upon the road to the right destination, but not deriving any advantage to faith

and morals from the world through which they pass. In this view, experience, trial, and discipline, as derived from contact with men and nature, are rather a hurt than a help to virtue and piety. The man of God, the divine soul, is an alien in a hostile land so long as he dwells in the body. He may draw a free, glad breath when he gets safely through, as one does who has passed through a wilderness beset with wild beasts.

Then there are people whose opinion is that the world is a place of luck and chance. It is just as likely to degrade and destroy the finer manhood as to advance it. Evils are brute forces, to be avoided if possible, to be made the best of if they must be met; but never having any hidden purpose of blessing through their control and use by a higher law. But this opinion — apt to be entertained by soured, thoughtless, or superficial people — does not accord with the best philosophy of science any more than it satisfies the noblest natures of men. *Law*, not luck or accident, is the word which the observing men of science use in speaking of the workings of every part of the world; and law means the different parts working into one another to beget definite ends.

How strange it would be, if this mighty sum of things mid which we dwell were really less intelligent and moral than if it were the handiwork of a large-minded man! For intelligent man constructs machinery to do something creditable; and is there less wise intention in the construction of the world? If one looking at the masses of clouds drifting overhead in an autumn day should say, These have no meaning, no part in the economy of Nature, no relation to the purification or redistribution of the atmosphere, he would talk as people used to do before the science of meteorology discovered that clouds and weather never merely *happen*, but are incidents in a great body of world-constructing forces. If one should say of an earthquake

or a tornado. This is only a chance agitation of matter, connected with nothing, incapable of offering any clew to the future of the world or any glimpse into its past, he would be looked upon as an ignoramus by sensible observers of Nature. So it is the case with regard to the various happenings round about your and my souls which we call pleasures or sorrows, perils or helps; a little careful observation of them as they work with living men and women will show that they are soul material, knitting themselves into the fabric of our characters, not to destroy or damage only, — although they sometimes do such mischief to incapable souls, — but also to broaden, deepen, enrich, and put into varied fine and beautiful shapes. We might be angels or some other sorts of spiritual beings in a world different from this in which we dwell, but in order to be souls we must be at school in just this life.

And what the Hebrew sage said of the formation of a soul fit to be trusted, that it must go by crooked ways, not straight forward to its end, has its frequent illustration in the way most of the finer types of people are made. Most of us have had occasion to seek some object in the darkness, it may be in a dark cellar or in the woods in the night. We generally pursue a process of feeling our way, — of touching things first upon one side and then the other, so that our track is a crooked one. All thoughtful life is such a process of feeling the way. We must touch this and that and the other sort of experience; we must aim towards many points where we think what we need is to be found, until in due season we attain it or give up the search. Only we are not impelled by our will alone, but circumstances and a sort of necessity drive us on. We must act, if we are alive; we must choose; we must make experiments; and we must many times do the unwise, the wrong, and pain-begetting thing.

When the baby starts upon the unfamiliar journey of

life he bumps his head, pinches his fingers, gets scratched by the kitten and bitten by the dog, — all disagreeable circumstances, — and out of them all acquires intelligence and morals, they being most useful and indispensable lessons to these ends; for he must and ought for his soul's good to learn to live on right terms with dogs and cats and stone pavements and doors that are liable to shut. When a man seeks to invent a labor-saving machine, a great part of the assured value of his invention depends upon his having found out, as he worked slowly with his original idea, what cannot be done with his materials, how much strain iron and wood will and will *not* bear, how unsatisfactory, incomplete, and liable to immediate breakage his machine would be if he made it as he first thought. The sewing-machine, steam-engine, telephone, and all the rest of the wonder-working mechanisms are the result of constant disappointments and bafflings encountered by their originators. And the disappointments were worth while, because they widened the mind of the inventor to obtain a more perfect result.

The object of your and my living is that we may turn out the most many-sided and complete souls attainable by our constitution. But we must know men, know the world, know the limitations of our own powers by means of various contacts and rebuffs, as indispensable preliminaries to completing those souls. I don't know how hardy my frame is until I have met sharp cold and intense heat, been wet and hungry and tired with effort. Then I begin to suspect what I can safely undertake and what I had best avoid in dealing with my body. I do not know whether I have a weak will or a strong will, a quick mind or a slow mind, an appetite that can control me or a central power which can dominate all my appetites, until I have been tried by something which resists and opposes me. The boy who has been shown how to work out all his problems in

arithmetic and algebra, and had his compositions written for him, has no knowledge of these subjects which will serve him in active life. Unless he would make a miserable failure he needs to wrestle, to agonize, and to fail many times; then he does his work, and he knows how to do other and superior work.

When Mr. Gladstone began the study of the government of Ireland years ago, he overestimated the efficacy of his political ideas and theories in pacifying that unhappy people. The very stubborn resistance with which he has had to contend from all quarters has not only steadily matured his mind in those types of statesmanship which we call Christian, as distinct from those which omit the elements of faith in right and of fair play toward the socially weak, but he has educated the entire people of Great Britain into more humane and rational conceptions of the proper functions of government. And by and by, not far hence, Ireland, having won its rights, will perhaps be a better state than if the end could have come a century ago; certainly Mr. Gladstone will be a larger man for not having had a smooth, undisturbed path of statesmanship.

The finest types of souls are composed of varied qualities which balance and complement one another: they must be brave and tender; they must be confident and modest; they can be stern and inexorable toward wrong, yet pitiful toward the weak. But such contrasting states of mind seldom or never exist in a person until he can say, "There is not a range of human joy or misery which I have not touched in the course of my lifetime; touched, not because I sought or desired it, but because it came to me inevitably as, driven by will and circumstance, I groped my way through the world."

How many a father whose early life was one of hardship thinks, "I will spare my son the wretchedness I had

to bear in those old days of poverty. He shall have no hard fighting with circumstances, no going hungry nor wearing shabby clothes, no wrestling at odd hours and with poor books to get something called an education; he shall begin where I left off, and from there he ought to go on to a far more useful and happy manhood than his father ever possessed." Yet the outcome of this plan is that the son is a failure so far as the attainment of personal honor or weight of influence is concerned. If anybody pays any attention to him it is for his father's sake, and not for his own individual worth.

The crooked ways of life do not indeed make men perfect; few of us can undergo rough jostling with the elements without having our tempers spoiled and our minds narrowed in many directions. And yet, for the genuine constructive work of society in church or State, the only valuable men are those who have had steadily to set their wills in battle against luck, fate, human ignorance and wickedness, and, in the rough contest, have been as often defeated in the pursuit of the aims they first thought desirable as they have come off victorious.

Life is a sort of gymnasium. It is not of so much consequence whether a man succeeds in doing this or that nice trick with the dumb-bells, Indian clubs, rings, and bars, as that he attains firmness of muscle and symmetry of frame.

Few people, as they approach the close of life and look back, can say that most of the things which they projected in their youth have been attained; but neither can they feel sure that if they had attained the half of them they would have been as wise, happy, or good as they now are. He who can extract solid satisfaction from life, act well his part among men, and have a pure conscience before God upon five hundred dollars a year, has won far more from life than if he is peevish, disagreeable, and

devoid of sympathy, intelligent interest, and moral scruple, upon five thousand a year. Yet how few do not rate the five thousand dollars as life's success, and the five hundred dollars as life's failure! Daniel Webster, William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, and numberless other strong statesmen died in the half conviction that their careers had been comparative failures, unrecognized of their countrymen, simply because they never reached the Presidency. As if the Presidential office were an invariable badge and reward of statesmanship; and to have the genius to carry a nation through great straits of diplomacy or financial perplexity were less honorable than to live for a season in the White House!

"Wisdom torments man with her discipline," says the wise man farther, "until she can trust his soul." Very likely he had in mind some of the schoolmaster methods of his time, of setting scholars unmanageable lessons and whipping them if they did not master them; and life seems often to do that for all of us. Yet not any more than in the case of the old-fashioned school-teacher, without a shrewd purpose. Discipline means education; and true education is quite as much in *unlearning* things as in learning, in ridding our minds of foolish, impracticable, and short-sighted notions. If the most of us could enter life without the large burden of senseless aims, unwarrantable expectations, and overestimates and misjudgments of our powers which we generally carry, we should be happier and more useful than we now are. In college and in business and professional careers, one of the greatest services done a young man is, as the familiar phrase goes, "taking the conceit out of him," — showing him where he is inferior to others, where he is weak and incapable. It is a hard process, but most wholesome for genuine worth. To teach any of us what we do not know is to stimulate us to know. To point out to us where we

shall probably fail is to force us to concentrate energy where we may succeed. Look at some of the experiences in your lives which as they happened seemed most cruel, and see how often, if you will be candid and honest in your inquiry, you can trace from them some of your best elements of mind and heart. But, of course, the chief source of the strength which comes to us from opposition and temporary misfortune is in our resolute wills and high faith to make much of life, let nature and man baffle us as they may. If the germ of souls be not in us at the outset, all education is wasted upon us.

It is said of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the English orator and dramatist, that having made a mortifying failure in his first attempt at speech-making in Parliament he exclaimed, "It is in me, and it shall come out!" A great soul, a son of God, will always have similar confidence in his power to make for himself an outlet of success in one direction if all other directions are shut up to him. The man who believes in God most sincerely and heartily — which is but another way of saying "the man who is able to discern the great moral law which underlies and controls all events" — will have no doubt that, come to him what may that is trying, mortifying, desperate, there is a noble work and an honorable place for him among souls; for he is not put here simply to deal with difficulties, but difficulties are here for him to show their insignificance and powerlessness when a soul grapples with them. One of the most impressive lessons which this era of material conquest is setting before us all is in showing the height of greatness to which the will and intellect of man can rise when there is some feat to be accomplished in the struggle with matter which hitherto has been thought to be impracticable.

Journey in the tracks of the scientific engineer through the Suez canal, along the precipices of the Colorado moun-

tains where the railroad crowns dizzy heights, over the Brooklyn bridge, through the Hoosac or the St. Gothard tunnel, and, if you can, avoid feeling exultantly that mightier than mountains or seas is the mind of man, which answers their defiance of his weakness by laying them bound at the feet of human utility. So the soul, in high stations or in lowly stations, is at its greatest not when things are easy, but when it is stirred out of sluggishness to meet sorrow, pain, and wrong, and from them to wring the blessing they held in concealment.

And wherever we are faithfully and earnestly trying to do our best with life, keeping heart amid discouragements, looking ever for the bright sky behind the cloud, — we are making souls fit for advancement in the Father's realm of service. Let us be sure there will be no failure to make a soul when we believe that we have a soul in germ, and do our part to unfold it as God shows us what we ought to do.

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IDEAL SUBSTITUTES FOR GOD.

BY

JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D., LL.D.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,

BOSTON.

Our Faith.

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The Brotherhood of Man.
The Leadership of Jesus.
Salvation by Character.
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(*As expressed in the By-Laws of the American Unitarian Association*).

"The object of the American Unitarian Association shall be to diffuse the knowledge and promote the interests of pure Christianity; and all Unitarian Christians shall be invited to unite and co-operate with it for that purpose."

(*As expressed by the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1894.*)

"These Churches accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man.

"The Conference recognizes the fact that its constituency is Congregational in tradition and polity. Therefore, it declares that nothing in this Constitution is to be construed as an authoritative test; and we cordially invite to our working fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our spirit and our practical aims."

IDEAL SUBSTITUTES FOR GOD.

"THEOLOGY," after ranking for many centuries as the noblest branch of human learning, and even receiving homage "as the Queen of Sciences," has at last fallen upon an age which not only disputes its traditional pre-eminence, but would send it, discrowned and outlawed, into irreversible banishment. In order to judge aright between the old estimate of it and the new, we must look at its supposed contents, and consider what *Theology essentially is.* The word itself, belonging as it does to a well-known group of compounds, indicates its own central conception. As Geology is the methodical knowledge of the earth's crust, — Physiology, of living organisms, — Psychology, of the self-conscious mind, — Ethnology, of the races of mankind, — so is Theology the doctrine or rational apprehension of *God.* He is its object; and those who teach it assume that our faculties can take cognizance of Him, no less than the Cosmologist assumes that he can intelligently construe the variety and unity of the world. The *methods* of seeking Him have indeed changed with the genius of the thinker and the temper of his age. But whether he has proceeded (with Descartes) from the Idea to the infinite Reality, or (with Wolff) from the contingency of the universe to its necessary Source, or (with Paley) from the skill and

beauty of nature to its intellectual Inventor, or (with Kant) from the moral law to its righteous Legislator, or (with Chalmers) from the records of past revelations to the character of the Revealer, — in every instance the light from afar which has sustained the inquirer's zeal has been still the same — the assured *Divine knowledge* in which the toil shall end. This is the inspiration of Theology; and if that living breath departs, it collapses and dies.

By watching the gradual change in the choice and complexion of words, we gain a kind of Nilometer, which shows the shifting levels and gathering floods of thought, and warns us of the season's work. And it is not without significance that, in place of what used to be called the study of *Theology*, we now more often hear of the "Science of *Religions*," i. e. the systematic knowledge of what *men have believed and felt* on things sacred to them. The difference is obvious: it drops us down from a Divine to a Human object, from the yearning of Reason after its transcendent Reality to the history and critique of ethnic mythologies. As an element in the study of man, rich in psychological instruction, there is every ground for welcoming the new expansion recently given to this order of inquiries, and for rendering all honor to the leaders who open the way through them. And the treatment of them in the pure historical spirit, unperverted by theoretic preconceptions or apologetic interests, places them for the first time in their true position: for, as long as ancient and foreign religions had no reporter but the Christian theologian, it was vain to expect for them a sympathy adequate to their interpretation. Still, the importance of these studies is wholly anthropological. They tell the grotesque and pathetic story of our struggling race, — the dreams of its darkness, the guesses of its wonder, the surmises of its sin; but supply no selective rule for saving

the true while pitying the false, and yield no Divine knowledge but what we bring to them. If, in pursuing them, we are already and independently furnished with our theology, they will reflect perhaps some rays of it here and there, and so adorn it with a fresh illustration; but, in themselves, they will merely pass before us strange forms of thought, on which we gaze as from an outside station, and which we treat only as phenomena of the world. They cannot therefore claim the place of the old "Theology."

Whence this change in the aspect and method of religious theory? Why has it parted with its Infinite Object, and taken up instead with men's poor fancies about it? Can the broken lights of primeval superstitions render a truer image of things Divine than immediate intellectual vision? Have we really come to that last resort of superannuated philosophy, an eclectic commonplace-book of favorite beliefs? No doubt the reason is, that our age finds it easier to feel sure of what Religion *is* in man, than of what it *says* of God; and can treat it therefore with tenderness and respect as a subjective phenomenon, but hesitates to follow its daring launch-out on the ocean of real being. Its power as an element of character, as an inspiration in art, as a federator of nations and factor of history, is freely admitted; and no place that it can fairly claim in the genesis of society and the regulation of life is denied to it. But that it knows its own meaning, and that that meaning is true; that what it sees is really there and no phantasm of the mind; that, when its mythical drapery is stripped off, anything substantive remains within; — on all this our generation, dazzled by its discoveries and deserted by its simplicity, feels bewildered and insecure. Yet we are naturally averse to supposing that mere emptiness and illusion can have a dominant influence in the education of mankind: so we try to find some solid little nucleus

secreted at the centre of this brilliant nebula, and to make out that, if *we* could not lodge there now, it has belonged, or is going to belong, to some less erratic and more habitable world; and we insist that, though in itself it cannot pretend to much reality, it may symbolically stand for a good deal, if we do but construe it aright. We readily perceive that the higher forms of Religion assume (inter alia) some rule of human experience, e. g. that *the wicked lay snares for themselves;* or some attitude of the moral consciousness, e. g. the felt *transcendency of duty over performance;* and, seizing upon these included postulates, we say, — "Here is the key: this is the whole story: we have got it now in the plain demotic character; and the hieroglyphics may be rubbed out." What is the result? Much, I think, what we should expect, where the text is disparaged to glorify the interpreter: *its* thought is twisted into a mask, through which *his* eyes look out; and under the guise of ancient sage or prophet, we are confronted by the commonplaces of to-day. Isaiah turns out to be a Martin Tupper.

Of this rationalistic reduction of religion to formulas of experience there are so many examples now-a-days as to indicate a general tendency of our time. Amid their varieties there is one cry in which all their voices concur. It is raised in Holland, but echoed everywhere. "No Metaphysics!" — which means, taken in the foreign sense of the word, "No inquiry into any *Real Being* beyond the phenomena of the world: that is a problem which, whether admitting of solution or not, is indifferent to the spiritual life of humanity: either way, Religion remains a personal and social fact, the contents and significance of which we may examine." In other words, "It is nothing to Religion whether or not there be a God! We may give theology its discharge and let it carry off all its beliefs, without prejudice to human trust and piety; these have ample

support from the laws of our nature and the order amid which we are placed, without seeking any deeper base." It is no wonder that when this one common element of all known religions (for even Buddhism does not answer to the demand, "No Metaphysics!") is removed, very divergent accounts should be given of what the residuary essence really is. In *this* indeed they do agree; — that *Morality*, as next of kin to Religion, must succeed to its inheritance and take its name: only, as they have hitherto existed both together on domains by no means co-extensive and with followers far from identical, it is necessary, if the world is to feel no bereavement, to devise some transformation for morality, — to give it a step of preferment from the temporal to the spiritual peerage, and decorate it with the ostensible symbols of sanctity. The delicate question is, what these shall be. What shall we do to morality in order to turn it into religion? "Touch it with emotion," says Mr. Matthew Arnold, and "fix its eye on the *stream of tendency* as that continuous *not-ourselves* which makes for Righteousness." Mr. Frederick Harrison has no objection to the "emotion;" but prefers, as a Supreme Being, the idea of *collective Humanity* which claims the individual's service and weaves it into its texture for ever. The newest philosophy of Holland deems it enough that the morality shall be *ideal;* not the prosaic will of duty that toils under the burden and heat of the day, but the free flight towards visionary perfection to which midnight contemplation invites. Religion, we are assured, is "Moral Idealism."[1] In this definition the modern tendency finds perhaps its most exact expression; and in the following comments upon the general doctrine, its terms will be prevailingly in my thoughts.

[1] See the discussion on "Godsdienst zonder metaphysica" and on the "Zedelijk Ideaal," in the Theologisch Tijdschrift, 1874–5–6, by Hooykaas, Van Bell, Hugenholtz, Van Hamel, Kuenen, and others.

Let it be admitted at the outset that, *within the limits of Ethics*, — if that were all the ground they claimed, — each of these teachers emphasizes an important truth. That on this scene of our life the course of things "makes for righteousness," — that in "the stream of tendency" the defiling contents gradually subside and leave the waters purer as they flow, — that history, through all its tragedies, contains the promise of Right, — and that a firm trust in this ascending future is an indispensable support for human culture, — is a lesson so momentous, that his appreciation of it may well place Mr. Arnold high among moralists, if only it is not used as his passport of entrance among the prophets. So, again, nothing can be more seasonable than the counterpoise by which Mr. Harrison checks the sophistical egoism of the preceding English philosophers. In proof of their dictum that Pleasure is the ultimate good and the end of all action, they have usually put the case of a solitary person set up in an empty universe, and insisted that if, on arising, he had one pleasant sensation and then passed away, it would have been worth his while to exist; but if the sensation were painful, he had better not have been; so that there is nothing eligible but pleasure. The absurdity of the argument lies in its quiet assumption (under the conception of loneliness) of Individualism, and its reduction of life to mere sentiency. This creature floating in vacancy is, by hypothesis, out of relation to anything but himself: all objects, all companions, are kept out of his way: there is nothing for him to go to or to act upon: he is a self-concentrated focus, surrendered to *passivity*, which has only a sensitive value. On these terms he is not a *man at all;* nor even so much as a sponge in the sea, which at least *does something* with the water around it. The human being is first constituted by precisely the system of relations which are all here omitted: we are what we are by reciprocation: the *individual* is not

the factor, but the *product*, of society; and, to understand our nature, we must reckon with humanity first as a collective and dominant organism, whence he starts forth and differentiates himself. This independence and ascendency of the altruistic relations, with the reverent self-subordination which they enjoin to the abiding and growing life of society, are vindicated with a just enthusiasm by our eloquent Positivist; — with an effect, however, which might have been greater, had not his afflatus carried him over from philosophy to allegory, and mystified his doctrine by expressing it in terms of "the Soul and the Future Life." A still deeper truth it is which has led the extreme school in Holland to resolve religion into "Moral Idealism." They have certainly hit upon the very experience which occupies the border-ground between ethics and faith, and carries the conscience over from rules of life to inward worship. On the one hand, do I not know that, in every alternative offered to my choice, I can both see the higher course and take it, and am solemnly bound to take no other? On the other hand, do I not also know, from the sad lessons of the past, that I shall not persistently do so; and that the will *always* pure and unselfish, just and true, though for ever possible, will be for ever unrealized? This conflict between character and conception is doubtless the cradle of religion: the interval between what we are and what we are guilty for not being, is that which turns our look upwards, to see if there be hope beyond these shadows of reproach, and which makes the heart low and tender to yield to any heavenly promise that may descend. The spirit that has set into this attitude, and, in the daily round of duty, is secretly drawn on by an infinite aspiration, already waits at the gate of heaven.

But it is one thing to be brought to the verge of Religion by sympathy with this or that part of its contents: it is another, to penetrate to its interior essence. And inas-

much as it is the aim of all these interpreters to retain the pieties of human character, while excusing themselves and us from any conscious relations with *the Living God*, I submit that they attempt what is impossible, and that the very life of Religion centres precisely in that which they discard. They feel the elevation and beauty of the best type of spiritual growth, but would fain dispense with its secret aliment and conditions. They look with wonder at the stately stem, as it springs aloft: they love the shade of the foliage: they admire the blossom; — but they cut the root. It is a repetition, at a higher level, of the mistake which the Individualists commit. These try to make a whole of the single person, and from his nature, measured in itself, to deduce a theory of his existence, though that existence is entirely made up of a tissue of relations with his kind and his theatre of being. Humanism corrects this error; yet again renews it, when it shuts up *mankind* within their reciprocal relations, and cuts them off from diviner affinities beyond. Neither ourselves, nor our race, surveyed as an island, can ever be interpreted aright: to understand what we are, and even what we contain, we must venture the embracing seas and integrate our lives with the unmeasured sphere of being.

Do I then restrict the conception of Religion to the sentiments awakened by the presence of *Infinite* Perfection, and say that, short of this point, its characteristic spirit fails? On the contrary, I trace its secret power in all human relations where affection and duty are concerned. Reverence for character above us, at whatever height it may be, is the posture of a *religious* nature; and the aspiration it sustains, the trusts it fosters, the self-sacrifice it renders possible and light, fling into our life its fairest colors and tincture it all with sacredness. Let this devoutness of heart be free as you will: let it go everywhere and touch everything: the finite also is open to it as well as

the infinite; and the minor pieties are not to retire or renounce their name before the greater. But then, for both there is this indispensable condition; viz. that the inward homage, whatever its direction, shall alight upon a *real object*, and not lose itself in the dilution of an endless search. When I am awed and subdued before the grace and grandeur of a moral superior, it is not because he *suggests*, but because he *realizes*, a higher conception of excellence: it is as a living agent, as a personal embodiment, of righteousness, that he wields authority over my conscience. Take away this element, tear the picture out of the volume of true history and cast it to the transient winds of imagination, and all is immediately changed. The image remaining the same, I may still admire; but no longer in grave silence, — rather with outspoken praise: of my compunction I am relieved: the strength of resolution is relaxed: the "lifting power" of a devout enthusiasm is gone; and if I have gained any new variety of thought, it is simply added to my culture, but does not transform my life. A conception which reports itself as empty of reality, even if it startles us into a momentary awe, can no more receive our reverent embrace than the shade of a departed ancestor or guide:

> Frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
> Par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima somno.

There is nothing to sustain the worshipful influence of its presence: we cannot venerate our own idea. *Here* it is that "Moral Idealism" falls short of the conditions of Religion; not because it is ethical, while religion is something else; not because it works among finite relations, while religion is concerned only with the infinite; but because its ideal perfection is known to be only in our heads, while the ideal of religion must be also real. Strauss himself makes the memorable confession, that "none but a

book-student could ever imagine that a creation of the brain, woven of poetry and philosophy, can take the place of real Religion." [1]

To mark then the step of thought which crosses the line into the hemisphere of Religion: — it is made when we affirm that over us and in relation to us the All-perfect Mind *exists*. Devout faith is a belief of *real Being* on the strength of *what ought to be*. If you look at it from the outside, you may call it the apotheosis of moral aspiration: if you name it from the interior, you will say it is the revelation of God in the conscience. The former expression describes the ascent of my thought to its object; the latter, the descent of its object into my thought. As my purpose is at present only to clear the meaning and scope of words which are made mischievous by indeterminate use, I will not pause to vindicate the drawing of an ontological conclusion from a moral premise. It is not the only paradox of Reason into which we are irresistibly borne away by that wonderful conception of what *ought to be*. It introduces many convictions against which the logic of physical science is for ever chafing; but which take no notice of the rebuff, and continue to be bases of social law and invisible bonds of human life. To these criticisms, if time permits, I will devote a few words before I close. Just now I rest on the position that "Moral Idealism" is not Religion, unless the ideal is held to be *Real* as well as *Divine*.

To test this position, suppose the element of *Reality* to be now admitted, and now removed; and compare the natural working of the moral ideal under the two conditions, to see whether in both instances alike it is marked by the effects which experience shows to be characteristic of religion.

[1] Kaiser Julien; der Romantiker auf dem Throne der Cäsaren, S. 12.

Ever since the Epistle to the Romans was written, it has become a Christian commonplace that, in all moral experience, I am divided against myself; inwardly identified with a superior call that beckons me; outwardly liable to take my lot with the inferior inclination that clings to me. In such conflict, whatever be its issue, the *real* self is always that which votes for the good; conformably with Plato's rule, that no man, *of his own will* (though, possibly, of blind impulse), ever decides for the worse. If I choose aright, the previous strife is laid to rest, and my nature is at one with itself and its own ends. If I choose amiss, the storm within is fiercer than before; I rage against my own temptation; and if the fact be known, I am ashamed to walk abroad and carry about so false an image of myself. And thus it is with all men, so far as the moral life has developed its history in them. Set before them a just and righteous claim that demands them, and, if only you get the conception clear into their hearts, they are caught up into one spirit at the appeal, and muster as an army fresh from sleep. They feel, perhaps for the first time, that they are themselves, — that they never knew themselves before. They have emerged from a disguising cloud, and beneath the sunshine their very essence has found them out. With all of us, then, in some deep sense, the ideal self is the truly Real; and we disown as foreign whatever contradicts it.

Yet, in another sense, it is just this which is *unreal;* for it is never *realized:* it is something still *to be*, which not yet *is*. If you ask for the *actual* self, now and here, to day and to-morrow, of each individual, it will be precisely that which he repudiates as the false one; wherein the struggle is *not over*, the temptation not banished, the unity not attained. Unless therefore fact itself is illusion, this other and relatively *evil* self is that which *really is*, both in each of us and in society. Yet, strange to say, it encoun-

ters a fate which befalls no other fact. Its right *to be a phenomenon* is disputed. Real as it is, it is *condemned for being there*, and has to skulk before an eternal protest which treats it as *marring reality*, and bids it take itself away.

What meaning then is to be put upon these two aspects of Reality, leading us at once to affirm and to deny it of the same object? To the Theist, the paradox easily resolves itself. That the moral consciousness on the one hand, and the observation of fact on the other, should give two measures of reality, does not surprise him. He sees in them only reflections in little of two corresponding functions of the universe at large, — viz. indwelling thought, ideal purpose, free creativeness, determining it towards all beauty and good; and finite material conditions for the externalization and progressive expression of its spiritual origin and end: i. e. *Mind*, eternally perfect; and *Nature*, perfectible by transition, — the one for ever *being*, the other only *becoming* (therefore partly *not* being) what it *ought to be*. Where the great whole consists of this permanent essence of reality and its partial negation, it is intelligible that both should report themselves in our derivative nature, and in their very lineaments claim their respective parentage, and by their native sympathies tend towards their home. In such a world there is no uncertain meaning in that consciousness of *a higher* that possesses me, — that sense of *authority* which every opening of duty brings, — that almost speaking appeal to my will that tells me, "This alone is right, and thou canst do it," — that terrible conviction incurred by all wrong-doing, that I have lost *myself* and become alienated from an infinitely better than myself. These experiences necessarily belong to the relation between the opening conscience of an incipiently free humanity and the righteousness of an eternally free and holy God. We simply accept them,

therefore, as telling us the truth: we *believe* our compunction, and have nothing to explain away in it: we do not construe it into a vain and illusory regret for what *had to be*, or think to rid ourselves of its demands by some apology or reparation to our fellows; but own to the full its grievous charge of a dereliction of a Divine trust, and shrink abashed before the eye of the Supreme Perfection.

At the same time, the consciousness that what I have realized in act is not the true Real, assures me that it has no roots and cannot stand; and that, just because I know this, I am not without the idea and love of that to which I have been faithless: so that the sacred affinity remains; the relation is not abolished; and hope springs up afresh. The local clouds of violated conscience cannot blot out the steadfast expression of eternal Will, all-embracing as the heavens: its everlasting eyes are over all, and know how to find the visual points in every answering mind. This objective persistence of a living Holiness is just the one steadying and sustaining power which condenses flying humors into force of conscience, and animates the waking toils of life with the glow of its divinest dreams. The women whom you could not frighten, and the men whom you could not move to say the false or do the wrong, — have they not been pre-eminently (I do not say exclusively) those who stood face to face with the Living Judge of Right, and in their own incorruptible perception heard His voice, "Stand fast, for I am with you"? — a voice which at once guarantees the possibility and completes the sanctity of the felt duty. Is it possible to deny that such conviction, with the habits of inward piety which it creates, naturally imparts stability to the will and elevation to the affections?

But this conviction, we are told, is "Metaphysical": it affirms an existence beyond phenomena; and from our religion we are to take all Metaphysics away. Be it

so: then our "Moral Idealism" loses its objective hold, and becomes a mere subjective exercise of imagination: and the question is whether this will still serve as well. The change (may we not say?) amounts to a removal of the ideal from the moral to the æsthetic field; whereby, though it may fix my admiration, it parts with all immediate relation to my will; for it contains in it no assurance of either its *authority* or its *possibility*, any more than is contained in the artist's dream of a statue nobler than the Apollo, or a picture more touching than the San Sisto. The bare conception of a better in character, rising in the imagination and known to be an imagination, no more touches the springs of action with the sense of what I ought to do and be, than the conception of brighter wits or finer person or happier lot. Any vain longing which it may excite is but like the wish that last night's dream were not *only* a dream, and is as likely to depress me with a nerveless feeling of inferiority as to lift me into strenuous faith. It is the peculiarity of the visions of conscience, — that which marks them off from all other play of ideality, — that they cannot be purely egoistic, and in becoming such would drop their very essence; that to a lonely, unrelated mind they would be intrinsically impossible; that they profess to come to us upon a mission, to destroy our absolutism and plant us beneath a higher which has a right to the homage of our will. If this profession be not true, the moral insight itself becomes illusory; and to detect the fraud thus put upon us is simply to break the back of all moral power, and release the will from every pressure graver than the light weights of fancy. What seemed to be looking at us with such Divine appealing eyes is but a flattered portrait of ourselves: the tones that so deeply pierced us are but our own falsetto voice: there is neither substance in the sight, nor truth in the sound: let us pass on, as though they were not. Life,

upon such terms, would be like one of those dual games, of chess or cards, in which a solitary player cheats his loneliness by personating the pair, and suffers a fictitious defeat by his own intentional mistake, and wins a hollow triumph by outwitting himself. It no less *takes two* to deliver the game of Duty from trivial pretence and give it an earnest interest. How can I look up to myself as the higher that reproaches me? — issue commands to myself which I dare not disobey? — ask forgiveness from myself for sins which myself has committed? — surrender to myself with a martyr's sacrifice? — and go through all the drama of moral conflict and enthusiasm between myself in a mask and myself in *propriâ personâ?* How far are these "emotional" semblances, these battles in the clouds, to carry their mimicry of reality? Are we to *worship* the self-ideality; to *pray* to an empty image in the air; to trust, in sorrow, a creation of thought which is but a phenomenon of sorrow? No; if religious communion is reduced to a monologue, its essence is extinct and its soul is gone. It is a living relation, or it is nothing; — a response to the Supreme Reality. And vainly will you search for your spiritual dynamics without the Rock Eternal for your ποῦ στῶ.

But perhaps it will be said that the moral ideal, when traced through its history, is not purely subjective, although at present a phenomenon of the individual consciousness; since it comes to us from minds other than our own; both concentrating and reflecting the social sentiment by whose light we see and in whose air we breathe; and also storing up an indefinite inheritance of ancestral judgments of character, not only transmitted by descent, but looking down on us from the portrait-galleries of history and permeating the whole substance of literature. The standards of excellence to which admiration and reverence turn have actually formed themselves, it is urged, outside of us:

they are not personal inventions which we might weave *in vacuo;* but are presented to us as the objective fruit of human experience, the last distillation of good when all foreign ingredients are left behind; and it is not therefore without reason that we refuse to interpret them as egoisms, and feel them as claims upon us rather than as fancies within us. They *do* speak to us with an external authority; but this authority it is enough to treat as *social*, without attributing to it anything transcendental and divine. Why may we not, it is asked, set our foot on this reality, and so regain the missing power? This objection proceeds from those who regard the moral sentiment as communicated rather than indigenous, — as partly borrowed in our own time from other minds, and partly a legacy in our organism from a long past. They are ready to assent to Mr. Sidgwick's statement that "on the conception of the objectivity of duty the authority of the moral sentiment depends;"[1] but think that, since *they* have detected its rudiments and conditions of growth in external experience, *its* conception of the objectivity of duty is provided for and justified. The fallacy is obvious. It is one thing for a sentiment to owe its existence to outward conditions; it is another to carry in its meaning an objective reference: to grow from without inwards is not to look from within outwards; and the objectivity we here investigate is not in the genesis of the conception, but in its contents. Its inherent *belief* of an authority beyond us is not explained by discovering for the sentiment a foreign origin, physiological and psychological, of which we are wholly unconscious. The discovery is *yours*, not *ours;* and its very merit for your genius depends on its having

[1] Methods of Ethics: Supplement to 1st Edition, p. 45. See also 1st Ed. p. 62. "That in us which claims authority is never a mere sentiment, but always a faculty cognizant of an objective rule or imperative which exists independently of its effect on our feelings."

been a secret to our thought. The objective sources of our moral feeling are absolutely hidden from it: its objective authority is absolutely clear to it: to identify the two is to affirm that the same thing may be simultaneously in consciousness and out of it.

Suppose, however, the fallacy removed from this analysis by our becoming conscious of the actual origin of our moral ideal, viz. progenitors in the past, society in the present; so that, thus far, there is no hindrance to our finding in them the "objective authority," the "imperative" rule independent of our own feelings, which the sense of duty carries in it. Still, there is another fatal disqualification in them for recognition as the real object of our reverence and the ideal standard of our aspirations. They are simply the general aggregate of social sentiment in our own and prior generations, the average of expected character through the ages of which we are the sons: for no means are suggested for filtering the descending stream and dropping its impurities as it flows, — its animal taint, its false admirations, its bitter selfishness, — and securing for us only the sweet waters of life. Can we say then that what is *thus* presented to us is *higher* than we, — higher, moreover, than our noblest and best men, in whom also and with intenser eye the conscience retains its upward look? No; historical and actual Society constitutes, by its opinions, a force larger indeed, stronger, more enduring than we; but not even approaching our own ideal, much less passing away beyond it towards infinitude. Nay more; social opinions are either the expression of conscience already there, and then they are the effect of the very ideal they are supposed to form; or, they tell simply what men like and dislike and mean to insist upon with each other; and then they are not moral at all; the influence which proceeds from them is coercive only, not sacred, — compressing reluctant wills, but releasing none

into a free enthusiasm. The objectivity, therefore, which is supplied to us by this doctrine is of the wrong kind for drawing forth the homage of reverent affection, and can offer only the blankest disappointment to any true moral idealism.

Besides, if the object in which the authority rests is a continuous and universal social will, it is for us a mere abstraction, in resorting to which we are aware that it is a figment or economy of thought, which cannot really exercise rights over us or claim any rational veneration. However subject we may be to impose upon ourselves by giving substance to such mental creations, they can never wield over us the power of concrete being, unless within their epitome images gleam forth of individual persons and visible scenes that have become endeared. Thus there is a magic in such words as *home* and *country*, through the generality of which faces look at us, and fields and villages are seen: and these may become the occasion of some minor idolatries of the heart, shaping themselves, however, into the innocent forms of conscious personification and fervent song. But abstractions which have no such contents, — e. g. Law, Reason, Wealth, Opinion, — whatever pranks they may play with our Logic, cannot persuade us to bow down and worship them. If the only *object* you have to offer for human homage be an impersonal conception of this kind, it is easy to see what will become of our religion under the change. We have only to substitute for the familiar terms of personal piety, which speak of "God" and the human "Soul," any of their supposed modern equivalents when the "Metaphysics" are discharged, and then estimate the gain or loss. Will then the Benedicite swell with the same tones of joy, when it has to sing, — "Bless the *Eternal Law*, all ye its works; bless the Eternal Law, O my synthesis of organs"? Will the contrition which now cries, — "Blot out my transgres-

sions," "Cast me not away," "A broken heart Thou dost not despise," pour out its sorrows to a deaf "ideal," and shed its passionate tears on an abstraction that cannot wipe them away? Will any moonlit form be seen kneeling in our Gethsemanes, and rising from prostrate anguish to sublime repose through the prayer, "O thou *Eternal Not-ourselves that makest for righteousness*, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt"? Will any Crucified one lose the bitterness of Death in crying, "*O Stream of Tendency*, into thy hands I commit my spirit"? And to the Martyr, stoned to death, will any Heaven open and any Vision come, when he exclaims, "*Great Ensemble of Humanity*, receive me"? For my part, I cherish the hope that our unsatisfied "Modern Thinker," after vain trial of such devotions, may return to his rest, and say with a natural reversion of heart, "O Thou once Unknown, I thank Thee that though Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, Thou hast revealed them unto babes."

Our comparison, then, of the effects on life of the subjective and objective ideal sums itself up in this: that without *personal relations* between the Human and the Divine, Religion is divested of all its higher attributes and intenser forces: it loses its link with morals: it ceases to transfigure the affections: it relinquishes its grasp upon the will. It was by emphasizing these relations that Judaism became indomitable; and by universalizing them that Christianity laid hold of the foremost nations and rose into the foremost faith of mankind; creating and diffusing a heart-worship, a self-reverence and self-surrender, a depth of spiritual experience, a literature of character and devotion, and a breadth of social compassion, which are the redeeming features of modern civilization. To paralyze these relations is to relapse into Paganism, —

a Paganism, too, with emptying temples and retreating gods, — and to set up again the mutual play of Man and Nature, with the sanctity lost from both. The needs of the future cannot be provided for by any such helpless reaction, which forfeits what we have gained by reversion to what has been discarded; but only by ascending to a more commanding point, whence contrasts melt in harmony, and the outlooks to the right and to the left are embraced in one horizon and form but undulations of one world.

An undertone of pathetic regret may sometimes be heard in even the most confident critics of Christian Theism; as if, in substituting their abstractions, they were conscious in their hearts of administering a dangerous anæsthetic to Religion, which might leave it speechless and paralytic, if it even survived at all. They plead, however, that the risk must be run; and that, to save any remnant of moral life, the organism of faith must suffer excision of some members which have hitherto been the seat of an intense vitality. Men have always taken for granted that the Supreme Power "thinks and loves;" but the critics have now laid it down that these predicates "cannot be *verified*," — a dictum which, giving no account of itself, relies for its effect on mere supercilious iteration. If, in Mr. Arnold's vocabulary, to "verify" means to "*test by experiment*," the complaint is true, but irrelevant: the inner attributes of the Supreme Cause cannot be submitted to Baconian experiments, with registered results tabulated under "Sic" and "Non." Yet their exemption from this criterion does not discredit their existence: for if a Divine Mind were really there, and in its essence were purely and only Thought and Love, it would equally transcend the interrogations of our experience. It is not by such methods that spiritual truths can be extorted. But if "*to justify by sufficient reason*" is here equivalent to "verification," the

complaint, though relevant, is unfounded: for we are guided by no other reason in attributing thought and love to our fellow-men than that which warrants our ascription of them to God. In neither case have we any *immediate* apprehension of these invisible affections of mind: in *that* degree of closeness they are known only as exercised by ourselves: in others we read them only by having thus learned their signs; and precisely the signs which assure us that we are not in a mad-house, but among companions directed by intelligence and moved by sympathy, repeat themselves in the legible order, beauty, and tendencies of the world. *So* similar are the marks in the two instances, that if intellect and feeling are allowed their causality in the one, legitimate induction (as Mr. Mill himself insists) requires their admission in the other: they must operate in both, or else in neither. How cogent this resemblance is, curiously appears from the fact that, with our modern men of science, it has become usual to accept this dilemma; and, as they will not admit Mind to be operative in Nature, they actually deny its efficiency in us. Both are automata alike; and all would go on the same, mechanically unrolling the scenery of life and history, though the superfluous appendage of consciousness were cut off. It is beyond the scope of my subject to criticise this pretended completion, but real subversion, of the philosophy of Descartes. Far be it from me to deny that in this, its last exploit, Reason has fairly done for itself and proved its own inefficacy. The interest of the speculation for the present consists in this, — that the parallelism between the Universe and Man is plainly indestructible; that the exclusion of intellectual power from Nature cancels it also in us; and that its self-assertion in us rationally secures its presence and its sway in Nature. If Nature is automatic only, so are we: if we are actuated by thought and love, so is Nature. The parallelism used to be denied: it is

now admitted; and the ultimate "verification" is thrown back upon our fundamental self-knowledge of action from purpose and affection. There we may be content to leave it.

I conclude, therefore, as I began, with deprecating the separation between what are called the "Metaphysics" and the Ethics of our supreme beliefs. These beliefs, whose fertilizing influence is first felt far lower down, are found, when followed upwards to their springs, to have two co-ordinate sources, — one in the intellectual, the other in the moral region of our nature: the former bringing us to a transcendent *Cause;* the latter, to a transcendent *Righteousness;* together finding their unity in an Eternal *Will*. The exigencies of thought in dealing with its ultimate problems may require us, and the artifices of analysis may enable us, to contemplate them as distinct, and assign to them their respective lines of descent upon and through the mind and character. But this detachment is *our* work, not *theirs;* — not a fact of life, but an illusion of the schools. In the common sense and feeling of men, and in the faith of Christ, they perfectly blend, and in blending support and complete each other; and no such strange paradox meets us, as the conception of a Universal Cause that has no character, or a Perfect Righteousness that has no Causality. The final object of the Reason and the final home of the Conscience are the same: these faculties are but the two wings that bear us thither; and if you disable either, we vainly struggle and never rise. Religion that is *mere* metaphysics offers us but a pale and icy reality: "Religion *without* metaphysics" offers us but a painted dream.

The truth of which the new doctrine is a caricature is perhaps this: — that the *progressive element* of Religion is to be found in an ever-expanding moral ideal as human experience enlarges and the human conscience increases

its refinement and its range. New social perplexities of duty, new sufferings for compassion, new virtues for veneration, new temptations for conquest, enter the field as the ages open, and leave the old formulas of righteous life inadequate: and in nothing will a true piety show itself more than in freely embracing its more comprehensive trust, and suffering no filaments of habit to detain it from a higher perfectness. On the ontological side of Religion, — in the conception of Primal Being and Power, — there is no such process of advance: it is a fixed thought, and, as a necessary idea of Reason, does not add to its contents, but remains "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." Precisely, however, on this account is it the indispensable substratum for the moving images and varying colors of goodness and beauty as they unfold. Without a permanent there can be no change; and the Ideal which for ever grows must in its essence be secured upon the Real. It is idle to talk of evolution and laws of phenomenal advance, as if they superseded all beyond themselves. "Phenomena" of nothing, "Evolution" of emptiness, — what are such phrases but a Greek and Latin gibberish? To make a show of itself, there must be something behind: to develop itself, there must be a plenitude within: the very words bespeak the whole reality they are intended to deny.

And unless we are to throw away all idea of homogeneity and proportion between cause and effect, and between instinctive tendency and its fulfilment, the Rational and the Moral in us can neither have their beginning nor reach their end, in the absence of Divine Reason and Divine Right. If our human experience teaches us anything certain, it is this: that it is Thought which kindles thought, and Love which elicits love, and Character which moulds and refines character; and *that*, not *upwards*, the inferior prevailing to better the superior; but *downwards*, the greater

lifting the less. To reverse this order, to educe Mind from what is not yet mind, and Conscience from blind and neutral force, is to put more into the effect than the cause provides, and *ipso facto* to convict the explanation of incompetency. And similarly when we face round to see whither our nature looks instead of whence it comes, we find not an appetency, affection, or energy of our being, that fails to meet its fitting *object:* through the range of the animal, the domestic, the social life, the several relations, of which one term is within us, complete themselves by hitting upon the other in the external scene. The scientific intellect slakes its thirst on the order and beauty of the world; and even when it ventures, in sympathy with the *style* of nature, on guesses and forecasts too daring for immediate belief, its vaticinations have often struck the truth. Is then this analogy to be first broken when we reach the highest levels of our humanity? Are we *there* flung out of all relations, though still furnished with their inward drift and cry? — still sent to seek, with prejudgment that we shall not find? If we are to assume any concinnity in our nature, or any harmony of it with its theatre of being, such disappointment of its ends carries in it an improbability revolting to the Reason. And can then the "Moral Idealism" step in and deliver us? Yes; if it speaks to us, not in its own name, but in that of its Inspirer; if it stands before the Living God, taking thence its inner power and sending thither its secret prayer, and can utter its prophecies as foregleams of His righteous Will. At such a voice, Conscience becomes transfigured from human to Divine, and life on earth is turned into a "kingdom of heaven." But if, because its God is dead, it can only display its own imaginings, and propose them in tones of personal suggestion, without an organic faith to integrate them with the possible and the intended, it will wield no persuasive influence, but speak as a prophet ere yet the live coal has

touched his lips. Its visions will pale and fade; its promises dissolve in unreality; and the sickened conscience that has trusted to it, sink into helpless debility. Human life is too strong for the grasp of spiritual æsthetics: let it remain within the hold of the All-ruling hand.

THE American Unitarian Association is the working missionary organization of the Unitarian churches of America. It seeks to promote sympathy and united action among Liberal Christians, and to spread the principles which are believed by Unitarians to be essential to civil and religious liberty and progress and to the attainments of the spiritual life. To this end it supports missionaries, establishes and maintains churches, holds conventions, aids in building meeting-houses, publishes, sells, and gives away books, sermons, tracts, hymn-books, and devotional works.

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THE RELATION

BETWEEN

ETHICS AND RELIGION.

BY

JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D., LL.D.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,
BOSTON.

"The object of the American Unitarian Association shall be to diffuse the knowledge and promote the interests of pure Christianity; and all Unitarian Christians shall be invited to unite and co-operate with it for that purpose." — ARTICLE I. *of the By-Laws of the American Unitarian Association.*

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THE RELATION BETWEEN ETHICS AND RELIGION.

Christendom, through all its vicissitudes, has preserved a distinctive moral physiognomy, giving to its history and literature an interest very different from that which attaches to Pagan times. Its eye has been fixed on an image of perfection variously unlike the heroes and sages of Greece and Rome. But, notwithstanding this practical unity of moral reverence through eighteen centuries, the attitude of the Christian Church towards the theoretic study of Ethics is marked by striking contradictions. It was impossible for the priesthood to work the system of *Confession*, and save it from a chaos of discrepancies, without classifying and assimilating decisions distant in time and place, and gradually eliciting, from this mass of *case-law*, a body of principles and rules applicable to the whole contents of human temptation and perplexity. Through her library of Casuistry, the Catholic Church has become the parent of our modern Moral Philosophy, and has conveyed into it her own assumption that the right guidance of life is inseparable from the functions of religion. On the other hand, Luther, denying all religious value to Morals, flung them, as a mere matter of police, into the hands of the civil magistrate. And the first volume of the "Congregational Lectures" instituted about half a century ago was written to prove that Christianity repudiates Ethics as *ab initio* impossible to the vitiated reason and conscience of a fallen nature. The study thus ignominiously cast out to the "infidel," he

in his turn is very ready to pick up, all the more from its being unencumbered with theology. He has quite a right to take these divines at their word and refute them by effecting, if he can, on independent ground, the construction which is declared impossible. We cannot be surprised that the supercilious airs of the religious towards Morals should in due season be assumed by the moralist towards Religion; and that, at least in the high moods of both, a divorce should be agreed upon as the only end of strife. And so we see offended Philosophy building its palace and setting up its separate establishment as far as possible from the Church, without even a window looking upon the Abbey towers. A quiet observer who loves them both may hold his peace and be content with his own sorrow at their averted looks; but may well doubt whether a wedlock beginning with the devout enthusiasm of youth, consecrated by long fellowship in trial and in victory, and attested by noble offspring that bear the features of both parents, can be permanently repented of; and will rather believe that, when the crisis of hurt pride and harassed spirits has passed, returning memories will draw from each, unconfessed to the other, frequent tears of reconciliation. Some natural feeling of this kind with regard to the present alienation between Ethical doctrine and Religious, suggests to me a few remarks on the real relation between the two.

Ethics treat of the right-ordering of Personal Relations, so far as these may be made better or worse by our will.

The terms of this definition, though not obscure, it may be well to unfold by a few words of comment.

Personal Relations constitute the prior condition and very matter itself of Morality, and in their absence it has no room to be. An absolutely solitary individual, if invested with power of various action and disposition, might affect himself for better or worse by what he did, but would be subject to no obligation and incur no guilt. The harm

he occasioned would be a blunder and not a sin: the good which he earned would prove his wisdom, not his virtue. If, instead of being lonely on the field of life, he has companions sentient but only animal, he enters on semi-personal relations and wakes to the first rudiments of Duty; the sensibilities of the creatures around him stirring in him two or three of the springs of action, whose relative worth, when more largely realized, fills up the contents of Conscience. Though his companions are not his peers, related to him as he is to them, yet it is in virtue of what they have in common with human nature that they are qualified to teach him the first lesson of Character.

Where the two natures are thus unequal, the morality which is rendered possible by their presence together is obviously limited to that one which is personal: the other is the occasion of duty in him without becoming liable to any reciprocal obligation. A parrot, kindly and rightly treated by his owner, will repay the pains bestowed on his education by amusing accomplishments and friendly ways. But these habits, moulded by the discipline of pleasure and pain, have not the ethical quality with which the master's action is tinctured; being no objects of ideal choice, but outwardly shaped by application of the physiological forces which dispose of the organism. The mere capacity of an animal for being "broken in," i. e. for being modified in its action through fear and hope, does not constitute personality or confer responsibility; and no integral moral relation arises until both natures are homogeneous and both personal.

Hence it follows that the relation, as ethically regarded, includes, besides the adjustment of external action, an indispensable concomitant of internal thought or feeling: for it is just here, i. e. in the absence of preferential consent or intention, that the animal obedience is defective. To say that *personal* relations are essentially *mental*

relations, is to say that the essential business of Ethics is with the *inner springs of action.*

Once more: our definition presupposes that the personal relations "may be made better or worse by our will." If I am master of no such alternative, if at each moment only one thing is possible to me, or if, out of two, neither is better than the other, I am the subject simply of natural law, not of moral. Differences of tendency may still be the object of scientific investigation, like differences of stature or digestion: but there is nothing to distinguish the study of what *ought to be* from the study of what *is;* and Ethics pluck up their fence and surrender their field to psychology,—unless indeed the biologist, who has long been squatting there, has already got too firm a hold.

Now, for Ethics thus defined I do not ask for any other place of birth and exercise than the common life of persons together; i. e. a human Society. That scene contains within itself adequate provision for their growth in individuals and their consolidation into Law: there is no need for them to be superimposed *ab extra*, added on as an appendix to the constitution of the world, as if they had been forgotten or too little emphasized in its substantive design. Whoever thinks, by insisting on such a supplement to an original humanity, to win a celestial sanctity for the law of righteousness, defeats his own object: he parts the two elements which he wishes to blend, and by way of making Religion necessary makes Morals impossible. For, to a nature from which Conscience has been omitted, no Law can ever be sacred, no right and wrong ever be revealed. It may be externally reduced to rule: but whatever conformity with order is thus produced is worthless as the genuflections of an automaton or the mimicry of an ape: whatever is willed on other grounds than its inherent excellence is foreign to the sphere of character. Without inward appreciation of that excellence in its several degrees and con-

senting adoption of it for its own sake, goodness cannot be: and if a Creator, in projecting a moral world, should omit to render this appreciation immanent in the nature of its people, no repairing message could overtake the defect. Thunders of command, tables of law, oracles of instruction, may terrify their imagination, engage their memory, increase their knowledge; but will not penetrate beyond the vestibule of their mind, for want of interpreter to unlock the sanctuary within.

But if for our purpose we do not require more than human nature, neither can we put up with less. We cannot dispense with any of its essential contents. In order to build up a system of relations ethically organized, we must start with men and not beasts; i. e. with beings not blindly thrust hither and thither by chance instincts, but conscious of difference in their impulses, and directed by concurrent intelligence. Take away this common base of harmony; suppose, with Hobbes, each individual set up for himself as a separate centre of repulsion, with an assertive appetite for all that he can touch, resolute to get all he can and surrender only what he must; and whatever equilibrium you may elicit from these data is not a moral equilibrium: it is but the Statics of desolating passion, not the Dynamics of ordered and unresting affections, and can only constitute, as Hobbes himself insisted, the enthronement of Force and the negation of all baffled Right. I will not say that no community could thus be formed and hold together, though even the gregarious habit of animals is not the product of mere self-love: but I do say that the bond on which it depends is not ethical or distinctively human; that it is the theatre of interests only and not of duties; and that its material — the mutilated essence of humanity — does not supply an adequate school for the unfolding of a private or public conscience.

Or shall I be corrected here, and asked to see in this

material, not the "*mutilated*," but rather the *uncompleted and inchoate* essence of humanity? Will it be said that Hobbes, in omitting some elements which he need not have denied to our self-knowledge, only anticipated the theory of Evolution, and astutely surmised the process through which the brute nature had become the human? and have we to confess it as at least an established probability that the adequate cause of orderly society is the "primitive savage;" — of human rights, the violence of wrong; — of thought, sensation; — of sensation, organic structure; — of organism, the inorganic; and so on through the stages of the "beautifully less," till we reach the zero, where plus and minus keep house together and become the Adam and Eve of all things? Be it so. For aught I know, the remote progenitor of a biped may be a quadruped, or a centipede: do you expect me then to place these creatures among moral beings? or to rank man with the unmoral? or to say that between moral and unmoral there is no real difference? Am I to think that when the conditions are provided which will set up an Ascidian, nothing more is wanted to make sure of an Aristotle and a Shakespeare, an Antonine and an Alfred the Great? I must decline to accept any such equation between the minimum of causation and the maximum of effect, and must supply in thought whatever is needed to cover the total difference, in quantity and quality, between the insignificant beginning and the majestic end. Whether the bodily forms which enshrine this enormous increment of creative power are of a million types or the continuity of one, is a question interesting to the naturalist, but in no way critical to the moral philosopher: the consciousness of guilt is just as far from toothache or hunger when lodged in the same type of organism with them, as when put into another invented for its sake. Let it appear when and where it may, it is a thing *sui generis*, which disowns an utterly heterogene-

ous source, and, though co-existing with dissimilar functions, can no more be deduced thence than vision from hearing. If you have nothing to work with but animal pleasures and pains, and unlimited time for their experience and transmission, you can never hope, through all eternity, to build up a conscience; or, if you do, you build up what your data will not support, and you will have to let fall as an illusion. Inherited accumulation of expediencies may account for an ever quicker and finer and larger sense of expediency, but for nothing else; as an infinitude of sand-grains may make a shore, and an infinitude of drops a sea, but neither effect can take the place of the other. Add as long as you will, if the items of the sum are all prudences, the total will not come out as a duty. To this truth Mr. Herbert Spencer himself bears conclusive witness: for, while he undertakes to show how, from sentient experiences, the idea of obligation obtains its *de facto* origin, he insists that *de jure* it has no business to be there; and that we should never have it, did we not misread our inward history, for want of his clear psychologic light. He gives its genesis in order to exhibit it, not as a legitimate derivative, but as a detected error; and accordingly infers that "the sense of duty or moral obligation is transitory" and "fades,"[1] like any other illusion. What more emphatic proclamation can be made that, operating with a merely animal and not a personal humanity, you can never justify the Ethical life or admit the possibility of an Ethical Science? For both have their very focus in this superseded sentiment of Duty; whence radiate all the affections characteristic of the one, and all the lines of meaning which define the language of the other. Instead of discrediting the highest stage at present reached by our nature and putting faith only in its lowest groundwork of sense and impulse, we may reasonably invert the

[1] Data of Ethics, p. 127.

order, and estimate the beginning by the end, and refuse to treat the nature as present till the whole of it is there.

But now let us suppose all these naturalistic theories and weakening conditions removed out of the way, and full play to be given, in a human society, to the ethical conditions and affections, in their present degree of maturity; and represent to ourselves the form of character which, in their isolation, they tend to produce. United with others in a common moral nature, we take for granted a fundamental agreement about right and wrong, and never hesitate, in case of apparent divergence, to rely on its removal by seeking coincidence at an earlier point. We regard ourselves, therefore, as all under a common rule by which each must be tried, and which is as little variable as any self-evident maxim of common sense, and by their several degrees of conformity to which or deviation from it we range men on the scale of righteousness or guilt. This rule, however, we are aware, is not an imperative definition of action, but a relative valuation of motive; and as the same preference of motive may give rise to any one of several acts, and the same act proceed from any one of several attitudes of motive, the conditions of the problem are always interior and out of sight: so that our judgments, if formed on *conduct* alone, are liable to go far astray: of its *wisdom or folly* we have a ready calculus in its *consequences;* its *goodness or guilt* we can only presume by surmising its invisible principle.

Judgment in other matters assumes no more than a determinate criterion of value: Ethical judgment assumes besides a personal power of conforming to it. To criticise an elm as awry and a man's stature as short, it is enough that you have the idea of a symmetrical tree and a well-proportioned figure: in criticising another's character, you presuppose that he has the true idea as well as you, and that it rests with him to realize it; that he

knows his duty and can do it. It cannot be denied that the whole system of moral conceptions, feelings and language, rests upon the belief in Free Will, and deals with man as (within its particular range) the real cause of what he is and does. But for this, who could suffer compunction for a lie any more than for a squint, or shame for delirium tremens more than for a typhoid fever, or feel more indignant disgust at the crimes of a Cæsar Borgia than at the rapacity of a wolf? Remorse for sin would be impossible but for the consciousness that it lies at our door: and the blame with which we visit the guilt of another is measured by the merited self-reproaches of his own heart. It is vain to pretend that we praise and condemn, approve and disapprove, the acts of another in order to procure their repetition or arrest, — making an investment in good words with an eye to a suitable return; and that, except to modify the future, we should have no such feeling to express. These moral sentiments are distinctly retrospective, judicial sentences upon the past, and estimates of present character, and *not* a device for managing something yet to come: and their undoubted influence on the human will as incentives and restraints depends on their just estimate of what is irrevocably committed, and would be spoiled if they were understood to be a mere policy of expectation. The modern determinist frankly admits that the postulate of freedom does underlie the ordinary experiences and judgments of the Conscience; and only draws the conclusion — "So much the worse for them." Remorse, in his eyes, is an absurdity; repentance, a weakness; merit and demerit, with all the feelings they excite, fancies due to our ignorance of causes; responsibility, a mistake, if it means more than that no act is without its consequences; and duty, an imaginary bond, unless understood simply of men's reasonable expectations from you. As these ideas and affections are such integral parts

of the Ethical disposition that it is difficult to see what is left of it when they are gone. I cannot be wrong in setting down the faith in Free Will among its characteristics. Whether the faith is true or not, it is no part of my present purpose to inquire. But of its effect upon the side of our nature to which it attaches itself, an idea may be given by a pregnant remark of Spinoza's, that towards a being supposed to be free, affections far more intense will be felt than towards one under necessity.[1] If this be so, we must assign to the type of character we are considering, not only an extended range, but an exceptional energy, of affection.

If Ethics pure and simple have for their object the right-ordering of personal relations, then in the absence of personal relations they will have nothing to say. In proportion as action and feeling have only reflex influence upon ourselves, escaping all contact with the lives of others, we shall regard them, from this point of view, as not falling within the scope of duty, and shall assert our freedom from every claim. Not that the hypothesis of isolation can ever be completely realized till the world is composed of desert islands, with a man apiece: but there are various near approaches to lonely exercises of will, secret corners of the mind and life where others seem to have no right of entrance; and if there we take a dispensation from all that intermeddles with our self-regards, and assume an unqualified independence, we shall not sensibly depart from our fundamental conception of morals. Every one must be conscious of at least occasional temptations to "do what he likes with his own;" and it is but an extension of this temper that is so often seen in the combination of strict honor and noble conscientiousness in public and social affairs with deplorable anarchy of personal habit.

[1] Ethica III. Pr. xlix.

For the group of ideas and affections hitherto described we need look no further than the experiences of human society. The peculiar cast of character which emerges from their dominance is singularly wholesome, the very staff of sustenance for the normal good of the world; not rich and rare, as the wine of genius or the fruits of art, but welcome as the "daily bread" which better fits our daily prayer and meets our constant need. The sense of Duty is to our humanity what gravitation is to the physical universe: and the solid natures in which it masses itself restrain whatever is erratic, and bend dependent minds into orderly movement. What counterpoise have we against the delirium of passion, the grasp of cupidity, the phthisis of romance, but the indomitable faithfulness of men who take no counsel but of their conscience, whom no pretences can beguile, no threats dismay, who look truth and right straight in the face, and, if they see a neglected duty, seize it for their own, "proniores ad officia, quod spernebantur"? These are the men who feel sure that, if a thing is right, it must be possible: and this faith in human causality, extinguishing the sense of difficulty, sweeps from their path the ideal obstacles which, far more than any substantial checks, arrest the energies of weaker natures. For the simply conscientious, no interval is visible, or even conceivable, between perceiving the best and executing it. No line for them is so straight as that from thought to action. Doubtless a mere sprinkling of such righteous souls may suffice at times to avert destruction from a perishing community.

At the same time, where the tension of conscience is pitched thus high, more is expected from the reason and moral sense of others than they will be found to give. He who simply wields his freedom does not understand the slavery of more ordinary minds: from the dependent he demands independence; from the frivolous, devotedness;

from the self-indulgent, sacrifice. And when these exactions remain without response, he never suspects that he has laid too heavy a trust upon the hampered and sickened human causality, but pours out reproaches on the apathy and shortcomings of others. Seeing only what might have been had they but done their part, he criticises and scolds, and contracts a temper censorious and unsympathetic, with scarcely hope enough to sustain his unaided fidelity. His disappointment in their perversity does but increase the rigidity of his own convictions: losing all tenderness and gaining no humility, he falls out of tune with the affections and wills that are his sole allies. He cannot reach the hearts of men. He wonders how it is that his moral reforms make so little way. He has shown their reasonableness: the proof is complete: assent is not refused: but somehow the springs of power are not there! To what degree of repulsiveness this type of character may descend, can be unknown only to the happy few who have never met with the rational and ethical prig who has alighted upon some short cut to the perfection of the world, and goes about offering with solemn assurance the universal pill that is to cure our sins and reinstate us tomorrow in Paradise. Many a projector of this order has it been my lot to know. With adequate self-complacency, he is perhaps the most comfortable, but the dreariest of mortals; persuaded that he has the secret of omnipotence, and smitten with utter ineffectiveness; for ever turning the barrel of a dead organ which has no tune to any but himself. It would be a relief if he would but be angry at his failure, curse the evils he cannot heal, and take offence at the nature of things which baffles him. Give me rather the passionate invective of the pessimist, who at least is moved by pity to his defiance, and, if he cannot have the universe on his side, is content to spend himself in struggling against it on behalf of suffering humanity. Better to

remonstrate, like Job, with the order of nature, than, like his friends, to ignore it: thus far its Infinite Author is "a Jealous God;" He will sooner bear to be denounced than to be forgot.

Why is it that pure moral ideas may result in so imperfect a type of character, and moral reforms in effects so feeble? What is amiss with them? Are they not true? Are they not good? Whence then their impotence? Yes, they are both; but, so long as the horizon of humanity shuts in their view, there is a larger truth, there is an infinite good, beyond their little field of vision, the light and warmth of which no sooner flow in than they kindle both the seer and the seen with a new glow, turning assent into enthusiasm, and suffusing a rugged world with divine beauty. The affections hitherto noticed arise from the contemplation of *human* causality, and receive their shock because they have not reckoned with the boundless store beyond, and are confused by its inrush upon their schemes. The Conscience, as thus far regarded, has played the part of righteous judge between man and man, never doubting that its right-ordering of personal relations was herein complete; and if its judgments have been uttered with too little majesty of voice, and have gained but faint obedience from listening hearts, may it not be because there is one personal relation left unrealized, — the crown and interpreter of all, — their inward sanctity, their embracing glory? If Ethics are to cover the entire ground of *character*, and if in our character there be a part which has reference to the Infinitude which surrounds our life, a system of thought, a type of feeling, which omits this part and treats it as though it were not, can be but a truncated moral structure, resembling the whole much as a Gothic Hôtel de Ville resembles a cathedral without its transepts and its towers.

So long as Duty is regarded as a human self-enactment,

it involves no personal relations except of men *inter se*. Treated as a factor in our egoistic psychology, the idea is taken as merely subjective and coming from ourselves. Treated as a social product fastened upon each individual by his fellows, it comes from our equals. In the former case, it ranks with any other phenomenon of our history: in the other, it stands on the level of a coercion or a convention among associates. In neither case does it speak to us from a superior, or carry in it any imperative right. If it is the voice of our fellows, it may be louder, but is not auguster than our own; if it is an altercation between two desires of the self, each may contradict the other without making good its title to command the whole. Within a unit, or where life is all upon one plane, Obligation cannot be, but only conflict and equilibrium of Force; and hence the fatal weakness of the Moralist who, after planting our nature in this position, continues to talk of what it *ought* to be. He eviscerates Duty, and turns it into a mummy, and then expects it to get up and walk. It is the total failure of a Supreme Authority, not of compelling strength but of pleading Perfection, that paralyzes him, and constrains him to fly before the first fanatic mob that sweeps the field in the name of the Holy Ghost. The law which he asserts, another can deny; and that which is made by men to-day may be unmade by men to-morrow; and no preacher of such shifting relativity of truth and righteousness will ever speak home to the undying needs of the human conscience.

Is he then forbidden by veracity to speak in any higher name than his own? In his private controversies of temptation, when the argument is at its height between some splendid treachery and a guiltless ignominy, is the difference between them preached to him in his own name? Did he institute it? Was it his will that planted it out visibly in the frame of things and the hearts of men? Is

his consciousness of it simply a play to and fro of his particular ideas, and their eager polemic only a soliloquy? Is it not rather a reality, — an eternal reality, — that looks in upon him and speaks to him? And has he not to own in it an *Authority* which is so far from being of his setting up, that his whole personality bows in homage to it, — an authority so different from mere Power, that Omnipotence itself could neither create nor cancel it? Now *authority* expresses a relation, not between mind and things, but between mind and mind: no physical object, no unconscious phenomenon, can exercise it: it is a purely personal attribute, a tie of dependence between the higher and the lower; and, wherever it is felt, there are two minds present with each other in uplooking and uplifting attitude. Thus in the ultimate penetralia of the conscience the Living Spirit of God himself is met, it may be unconsciously, it may be consciously. If you enter with the spiritual eye blindfolded, you will not indeed be wholly disappointed of your oracle; but, in receiving it and taking it away, you will suppose yourself alone: you will keep it as a precept of wisdom, and approve it as you might a proverb of Solomon's, and, in commending it to others, will look out for logic to support it. But the very soul of it will escape you, because it is one term of a personal relation, of which the other remains hidden from you. If, on the other hand, you have discovered on what holy ground you stand, you will issue forth in quite another mood: you will have, not a proposition to prove, but a message to deliver; and, fresh from the communion with the Infinite Inspirer, you will speak "as one having authority, and not as the Scribes."

The moment the experiences of Conscience are recognized as a personal relation, the whole body of Morals starts up as in life from the dead, and becomes transfigured with light flashing from the contact of two worlds.

In height, in depth, in volume, in sanctity, in tenderness, they are hardly less changed than the mortal putting on his immortality. Take only the following particulars.

1. The *Authority* of Duty becomes transcendent and Divine; and we understand how it is that it always gazed at us with so awful and quickening an eye, as if to fix our look, and still to pursue us though we turned away. This is intelligible, if it be the meeting of spirit with spirit, the living touch of infinite holiness on finite temptation. But no absent power, no code of the past, no heaven or hell of the future, could draw from us such secret homage: where and when the worship is, there and then is the God. If previously it was the tendency of moral conviction to harden our independence of will and impart a Stoical rigor, this temper, which belongs only to our standing before men or Fate, must now give way, and be replaced by pure reverence and self-surrender, not to resistless Force, but to Highest Righteousness.

2. The *Scope* of Duty becomes for the first time co-extensive with the area of the Will. There is a considerable range of voluntary life for every one, where all his fellows are out of reach, or at least so faintly and remotely affected by what he feels and does, as to obtain no voice in it. This field of private thought, of individual habit, of lonely taste and occupation, it has always been difficult to reclaim from the anarchy of chance desires, or the forbidding enclosure of selfishness, and annex it to the domain of Duty. To effect this, recourse has been had to such empty fictions as that of "Duty to ourselves;" which can be saved from contradiction only by an impossibility, viz. the splitting of "ourselves" into two agents susceptible of reciprocal obligations. The moment you fix any real sense upon the phrase, its meaning becomes simply *Prudence*, the neglect of which may constitute a solitary man a fool, but not a criminal. All this is changed in a

moment on finding that we are never alone and deserted by personal relations; that when finite agents leave us, the Infinite remains; that in every consciousness of a better and a worse, his living Perfection is in converse with us, and, stripping us of arbitrary option, imparts to our selection a character of faithfulness or guilt. There is nothing, in short, to which this one transcendent personal relation does not penetrate. The whole order of the life and mind, even in the deepest solitude, feels its supervision. And matters of which even good men are apt to be heedless, e. g. the limits of time and degree within which permissible desires and pursuits, — of wealth, of society, of ease and ornament, of knowledge and accomplishment, — may rightly have their way, are no longer left unregulated. A sacred light is interfused with our being from centre to circumference, and, where human affections cease to direct our path, gleams through the air and leads us on.

3. The *Volume*, or internal capacity, of the Moral Life is immeasurably expanded by gaining its religious interpretation. If it be the theme of converse between the Divine and the human mind and the expression of their affinity, our faith in Righteousness bursts the bounds of anthropology and assumes a cosmical extension. No escape from terrestrial conditions supersedes it: no withdrawal of limits from the mind would render it obsolete: for here it is, present at once in its two extremes, — at its beginning and in its consummation, born in the finite nature from the communion of the Infinite; inexhaustible, therefore, through the gradations of approach from the one to the other. And however surprising this may seem so long as moral excellence is looked at only in the concrete form of its external offices, it becomes intelligible when we follow up character to its interior essence, and find its perfection to consist in a certain order and har-

mony among the spiritual springs of action. However long a mind may live, however large its powers may grow, this harmony, this ascendency of the best, may become more nearly perfect, or in its perfection, if that be possible, cover a wider field. The conscience carries in its very nature a secret suspicion of this measureless possibility of goodness, and feels the presence of the vision even through its grievous blindness: hence, in uncorrupted natures, its undying humility, its inextinguishable aspiration. The moral sense, neglected and abused, may no doubt sink away, and on its lower line of movement die out in the dark; but, exercising its normal function on the upper line, it touches no terminus and dreams of none. Its intensest speed it deems intolerably slow: if it have feet, it longs for wings: if it have wings, it envies the lightning: it has always spaces to traverse which it cannot overtake. This ideal infinitude of excellence for our mind is but the reflex of its real infinitude for the Supreme Mind.

4. The *Enthusiasm* of the Moral Life is intensified by the consciousness of its Divine Source. That it is the meeting-ground of kindred sympathy between our nature and God's, where he lets us into the confidences of his thought and the partnership of his causality, is in itself enough to glorify the human characteristics and to endear the Divine, and kindle the zeal for bringing them into harmony. But, over and above this general tendency, there is a provision, in the inward constitution of our conscience, which gives a special impulse in the same direction. It sees the springs of action in a certain order of rank in excellence, – an order that speaks the preferences of God. And among the terms at the summit of that scale are Compassion, Sympathy, Wonder (devotion to truth), and Reverence (devotion to goodness); in short, the group (name the members as you will) of disinterested

and spiritual affections whence all fruitful inspiration has ever burst upon the world. These, then, are the fountains of life most dear to the Soul of souls: and those are most like him whose energies, detained by no inner frosts, flow freely forth in streams of Love that nourish the roots of every human good. The Ethical spirit is often supposed to be cold and scrupulous and negatively correct, shrinking from innumerable things and worshipping nothing. In its period of critical legalism, prior to its new birth, it may be so; but once sweetened with the waters of regeneration and initiated into its Divine relations, it breathes the air of quite another world; discovers that the best vigilance against evil is to fling yourself away into some humane and purifying good; and, since the life of God is the life of love, gains assurance that, with an infinite ally, the battle of righteousness can never lose hope and heart. The grievous features of the human lot which, in the natural stage, produce only dejection, become, in the spiritual, an impelling power. The sadness of the actual to so many sufferers, when touched by faith in their latent possibilities, lets in a kindling air, and turns the mournful smoke into a living flame. And the inequalities of men, which once seemed to be stereotyped by nature in caste, in serfdom, in slavery, and to close the door upon the future, no sooner catch the transforming light of the common human responsibility, than they wake the justice of converted souls, and shame the former pride and scorn, and raise vast armies of compassion intent on rescue, and penetrate life with mutual respect.

Such, then, I take to be the connection betwen Ethics and Religion; the latter, as containing the Supreme Personal Relation, completing the former, and, in doing so, transfiguring it throughout. The attempt of our own age to separate the two, and prove that it makes no difference to Morals what theory we adopt, or whether any at all,

respecting the universe beyond our own nature, is full of pathetic interest, as expressing an anxious resolve, amid the disintegration of other faiths, to save at least the minimum of conditions for our orderly life with one another. But, intellectually, this excellent motive does not excuse so great a paradox. It is simply impossible to be indifferent to the kind of Power which presides over the system of things; and the choice practically lies between two conceptions, — Necessity and Will, — the one blind, the other with moral ends. Whichever you adopt carries with it a train of consequences direct into the sphere of our experience.

Blind Necessity on the throne of the Universe means submission without law (for "Necessity has no law"); internecine war through the whole field of life; equilibrium, attained on the line of least resistance; society, suspended upon a truce; every nation, a camp; every individual, a sentinel against rivals; the strong, hunting the weak and laughing their saviours to scorn; history, reduced to a perpetual "massacre of the innocents;" and morals, to a persistent getting what you can and doing what you must.

Righteousness on the throne of the Universe means the subordination of might to right; concord, composed out of the varieties of life; equilibrium, effected by concurrent attractions; society, resting on the common recognition of a binding law; every nation, a province of the "kingdom of God;" every individual, a member of a "Sacred band;" the strong, bearing the burdens of the weak, and the weak holding on to the rear of the strong; history, an "Education of the human race;" and morals, the Divine ideal which that education is to work out.

I do not deny that each of these theories may cite phenomena that seem to countenance it; but I affirm that the characteristic phenomena of the Moral world are compati-

ble only with the second, and must be dismissed as illusions before it can be dislodged. Is any one to be listened to who says that this would make no difference?

Religion can as little afford to forget its emergence from the Conscience, as the Conscience to shrink from its religious transfiguration. The essence of Religion lies in communion between the finite and the Infinite Mind, between the individual Soul and the Universal. Where this communion is based specifically on the Ethical consciousness, it is a felt relation between Will and Will, a harmony or discord between Spirit and Spirit, in which two free Causalities are in presence of each other, in the light or under the cloud. Here, the human Personality asserts itself in the very moment and by the very act of surrender and abnegation, and never rises into higher liberty than when sinking into identification with the supreme intent. But if you quit this unique ground of *Moral* experience, and for any other side of your nature throw open the windows to the Infinite, the overwhelming inrush of the Primary Causality will utterly drown the secondary, abolish the conditions of personality, and dissolve all detached existence in the deified cloud with which the Mystic fills all space. The imagination, brooding on the fixed idea that "the All is only One," sees the lines of difference melt away, and accepts all states, outward and inward, as equally Divine; treats all moral distinctions as wiped out from the nature of things; and all objects alike, conscious or unconscious, as passive vehicles of the same necessitating Power. I will not urge that Religion, being the communion between two, commits suicide when, by merging one, it passes into a speculative Monism. But I dwell simply on the fact of the utter denudation, by these floods of Divine Necessity, of the whole ground on which Ethics stood: so that, if Religion can be said to remain, it cannot be a religion of

Duty. It is true that the Mystic, in losing *himself*, is freed from a copious source of human sins. But it is a negative deliverance, even if it lasts beyond his meditative moments; and it secures nothing better to take the place. According as his nature tends to thought, to affection, to art, he will dissolve himself away in speculation, in love, or in beauty, without a regulative order for his personal relations, or capacity for concrete action. These precarious drifts of emotion involve great danger to character. No greater gift do we owe to Christianity than the conception and consecration of *Personality:* and every influence that confuses and disturbs it softens the very nerve of modern civilization.

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THE

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

OF

CHILDREN.

BY

REV. MINOT J. SAVAGE, D.D.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,
BOSTON.

Our Faith.

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The Brotherhood of Man.
The Leadership of Jesus.
Salvation by Character.
The Progress of Mankind,
onward and upward forever.

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(*As expressed in the By-Laws of the American Unitarian Association*).

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(*As expressed by the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1894.*)

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"The Conference recognizes the fact that its constituency is Congregational in tradition and polity. Therefore, it declares that nothing in this Constitution is to be construed as an authoritative test; and we cordially invite to our working fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our spirit and our practical aims."

THE

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

There is one curious superstition concerning the matter of religious training that it seems to me important that I should notice. I meet it at almost every turn. It is one of the finger-marks of a crude, undeveloped, and unthinking liberalism. Parents tell me continually that they do not give their children any religious training, from the feeling that it is taking an unfair advantage of the child. They say, I propose to let my children grow up as far as possible unbiased. When they become of age, capable of thinking for themselves, then let them look over the world and choose what religion they will have, what their belief as to these great questions shall be. Now this might be all very wise and well, provided, in the nature of the case, it were not utterly impossible. Can you take one of your children and isolate him from all the rest of the world, and let him grow up till he is twenty years of age with no thought concerning God, concerning duty, concerning right or wrong, or worship or aspiration, with no thought concerning a future, and then can you suddenly place before him all the facts, the dreams, the imaginations, the hopes, the fears, of humanity in all the ages, and have him so situated and so constituted that he shall look over the whole field freely, without any prejudice, and choose that which is the best? If you should take a ball of putty, white and smooth and clean, and shape it as you wished, and then toss it from hand to hand, or let it fall

into the dust or mire of the street, and let any passer-by step on it or shape it as he would, and then at the end of a certain time suddenly endow it with life, and ask it to choose what shape it would hold, and whether it would be soiled or clean, you would be engaged in a rational operation as compared with this one of which I am speaking. Suppose a sculptor should take a piece of marble and stand it in front of his studio on the sidewalk, and should invite every passer-by to have a stroke at it with mallet and chisel, shaping it according to the fancy or the caprice of the moment, and then at the end of the year have it suddenly endowed with life, and ask it to choose what it would be, — the shape of a god or of a satyr, of beauty or ugliness, pure and white or stained and soiled, — this man would be rational as compared with the one who believes that you can let a child grow up until he is twenty unbiased, without absorbing any religious ideas or convictions, and then freely choose what he will be. If *you* do not bias the child, the first that he meets on the street, or in his school, or among his companions, will begin the work of biasing, of impression, of education, of training; for this is a continuous process. Whether you will or not, it is something over which you have no choice. It is something that will be done either wisely and well, or unwisely and ill.

These persons forget another thing, — that the child is born with the summed-up and inherited results of the tendencies of all the past. This brain, this heart, these bodies of ours, are not clean white pieces of paper, that the grown child can write on what he will. We are all palimpsests, that have been written on over and over and over again in all the ages of the past. We are the total result of thousands of generations, and we come to the beginning of this life with tendencies and biases and inclinations of every kind. It seems to me, then, that if you have any views, any convictions, any persuasions, as to right and wrong,

as to God, as to human character, as to destiny, that you think are worth holding, you should do your utmost to give these to your children. If you have none, of course I shall waste my words in talking to you, unless I can persuade you of the importance of becoming possessed of some as soon as possible. If you are doubtful about any of these convictions, then seek to remove these doubts. Seek to find out the truth, and remember that anything that is safe for you to hold is safe for your child to know. I am amazed, as I come in contact with parents, to find that they hold certain religious convictions themselves, and yet question the wisdom of telling them to their children. I would as soon teach my children false arithmetic, or false geography, or false astronomy, or false grammar, as teach them what I regard as false in religion. Teach your child the best, the noblest, the truest that you know, — the convictions of your own heart. Do not, of course, attempt to forestall natural growth and the unfolding of the childish mind, or force on it things that it is not able to comprehend. It has been my method always to be utterly frank with my children. I have never taught them what I did not believe myself. If they asked me if I believed a certain thing, and I did not, I said so frankly, as I would concerning anything else. If you wish to teach your children practical infidelity, to distrust you and to doubt the reality of your religious convictions, you can do it in no speedier way than by playing fast and loose with your child's first earnest, honest questionings concerning religious truth.

When is a child religiously educated? Let me try to outline what I mean by a child being religiously educated or trained.

I believe most thoroughly in a certain type of theology, certain views and conceptions of the world, certain methods of worship. I believe that it can be historically

demonstrated that certain methods, certain ways of thinking, certain conceptions of God and man and destiny, have played their part in helping on the world, and that certain others have hindered the development and progress of mankind: and yet, as earnestly as I believe all this, I do not think that this theological training is of the chiefest importance.

First, I believe that every child ought to be trained to think, and to feel, and to become conscious of the fact, that he is vitally related to God. This world is thrilling, pulsing, throbbing, with divine life, divine power, divine meaning; and more and more, as I grow older and think, I trust, more deeply, more and more do I see God everywhere. I look upon the stars shining, but I cannot stop with the star. It is the life, the power, the mystery, the wonder of God, that looks down at me from the night sky. I look upon the majesty of the ocean. It is not merely the movement of certain drops of water, or collections of drops, that I see. This rhythmical motion, this majesty, this mystery, this moaning, laughing sea, is just one outshining of the infinite and eternal life of God. I look into human history. I do not regard it any longer simply as an aimless struggle and conflict of political forces, ambitions, hopes, and fears of these or those men, or this or that ruler, or this or that king. It is the power, the life, the breath of God, that I see and feel everywhere, — humanity uplifted and led on by the inspiration of this power. And so, when I look into a human face, — the face of a friend or a loved one, — I do not stop with the eyes, with the brain, with the soul, of that friend. All this friendship, all this tenderness, all this beauty, all this love, are simply utterances, words, outshinings of the divine. And so I would have every child taught, first, to believe that he stands ever, in the light or in the dark, in pleasure or in pain, in business reverses or successes, in

hope or in fear, in struggle with right and wrong, in the immediate presence of God, — that he is dealing first hand with God. There is is no power but of God. There is no explaining any phase or form of this universal life, if he be left out.

Then I would have the child taught that in the law of this God, as manifested, no matter how, no matter where, is the law of his life; that he is not free in the sense of being at liberty to do according as he wills; that he is free only to know and to obey. I would have every child's conscience thus trained in the light of this one great, overmastering conviction.

Then I would have the heart touched. I believe that it is one of the most important things in the world that the child's sensitive nature should be roused so as to respond in love and tenderness and worship; that he should feel the motive force of love and of life, so that he should not only see what ought to be done, but be moved, *impelled*, to do it, and to feel that in this movement, these impulses, he is being played upon by the very hand of God himself.

I would have the sense of worship trained, so that every child, as he looks upon the mystery, the wonder, the glory, the beauty, of the world, should have his thoughts, his heart, his feeling, reach up to kneel, as it were, at the very foot of the throne which is the spring and source of all the wonder and glory that call out the admiration of the soul. This is what I mean by religious education, religious training.

You will see that this is something else than teaching the head merely, than learning of the discussions that constitute the theological controversies of the world; something else than being merely convinced that "my church" is the best in the world; something else than learning what is called sacred history, or sacred biography, or sacred geography. It is bringing into life, into active movement,

the real religious nature of the man, so that it shall be the mainspring and motive power of noble thought and feeling and living. This is first. Under whatever religious name, under the inspiration of whatever sacred literature, under the guidance of whatever religious teacher, under whatever theology, in whatever church, or in no church, if the religious nature be alive and the man live in close relation to God, this is the first great thing to be attained.

Now let me say a few personal words concerning the theatre of this kind of religious training. Where does the child get it as a matter of fact? We organize a Sunday-school; but what is that, — an hour a week for the children who attend regularly during forty weeks of the year? Where are the children the rest of the time, and what are the influences playing round them to develop or crush out their religious life? The larger part of the religious education of every child is that which he receives unconsciously, and which is perhaps bestowed unconsciously. How is it about our homes, and the religious influences there? What can we hope to do with our children one hour a week, if all the influences during the rest of the week are either indifferent or adverse? Then as regards this matter of home training. You know that sometimes a plant that you may try to care for in your home will wither and die. It is the atmosphere that kills it, or it lacks the proper soil. All your love and solicitude are in vain: it merely will not grow. There are certain types of plants that will live under the edge of the glacier among the Alps. Put them in the tropics, and they will wither and die. So there are tropical plants which, if you take from their soft, warm, moist beds and sunny skies, and place on the mountain side, will cease to be. It is a matter of situation, of atmosphere. The atmosphere must be favorable to the development of the religious nature in a child. It is of more importance than any direct influence that we can

bring to bear on his nature. Take a child in a home where all the influence and atmosphere are what we may call — what Jesus called — worldly. Worldly, as Jesus used that word, meant simply the conventional life, dealing with external affairs instead of caring for the deepest and highest spiritual things. Suppose a child is made to feel, if a caller comes in, that the particular thing to be thought of about that caller is the way she happens to be dressed. That is the thing which is emphasized after the caller has gone. Or the discussion turns, perhaps, on the street that this person lives in, the kind of house she has, how much money she may possess, — these are made the prominent things in discussing her. This cannot fail to give the child the impression that external matters are really the great things of this world. How many parents make this impression on their young minds quite thoughtlessly! They do not believe so themselves, or they would not admit it; but these are the impressions that the child's mind receives week by week and year by year. The character, the culture, the tenderness of this caller, her benevolence, her willingness to help, — these things, if the parents were asked, they would say were greater; but the impression that is made is that they are not of chief importance. The atmosphere of the home is not in sympathy with religious development: it is irreligious. Then the books the children read, the companions with whom they are associated, things that touch the child morning, noon, and night, every day in the week, and every week in the year, color, shape, control, his life. These are the things that are making or marring his religious development more than the direct efforts to counteract them that can be made by the Sunday-school teacher or than can be made by the parents themselves. For, curious as the contradiction is, there are large numbers of parents who instruct their children, so far as words go, in one way, and *impress* them, so

far as their influence and life go, another way. Their precepts are right; the atmosphere with which they surround the child is wrong.

Let us turn for one moment to the matter of church attendance. I am always glad when I see children at church; and I am sorry that so few children attend Unitarian churches, or any churches, perhaps. The Sunday-school is usurping the place of the church to such an extent that it is thought not proper to take the children to church. I wish every single child in this parish might be in church every Sunday morning. Suppose they do go to sleep: who cares? I believe that the influence of this habit of being in church — of feeling that they are a part of it, of feeling that it is expected of them that they will come — is more important than anything else that you can give in the way of religious training. If the church is not worth your attending, if it does not stand for your highest ideal of religious thought and religious labor, then I would not have the children go, and I would not go myself. But if it is the best realization of your religious ideal that you can practically attain, then I believe that there is nothing finer for the children than that they should grow up to feel that they are a part of it. If I could have my way, and it came to be a matter of choice between the Sunday-school and the church, I would abolish the Sunday-school. But that is not practical. The children expect the Sunday-school; they wish for it. If we do not organize one that will teach them the things that we believe, they will attend one where they will be taught things that we do not believe, and in ways which we do not believe. But I do think that it is a calamity when children are taught that the Sunday-school is theirs, and that the church is not. What is the result of it? In large numbers of cases, when they have outgrown the Sunday-school, as they think, and have cultivated no taste for the church, they are all abroad,

having no religious tastes, no religious ideals, no religious passion, no religious devotion. It is not necessary, as I have tried to make plain, that the child should have clear intellectual conceptions as to what is going on in the church. It is the atmosphere, the impression, the habit. How large a part of success in life, in every direction, is this matter of habit! You take a boy into your business and he is not worth anything for one or two years. He must be moulded and shaped to the business. Every faculty must become habituated to it, so that he shall know it in every direction, and do right because it is second nature. Then he becomes valuable to you. If a person wishes to learn the piano, years are spent in training the fingers, until they are habituated to the action of the keys. So in every department. The matter of habit is just as necessary in the religious development of the child. If a child should go to church every Sunday after it is no longer an annoyance to its parents or those around it, and should sleep every Sunday for the first five or seven years, and then only gradually wake up, get a snatch of a sentence, and wonder what it meant; hear a name, a word, that starts a train of thought; listen to a strain of music, and be lifted by it and sent off into a dream of what the high things of the spirit might stand for; note an air of reverence, of consecration, and feel that these people are here for something, because they believe in something, because they stand for something, because they wish to achieve something for humanity; get a sense of that *esprit de corps* to be found in every earnest congregation, — I believe that just these things would be of unspeakable importance in the religious development and culture of that child.

Then, as to the Sunday-school, since it exists, we must make the best of it. But when I appeal to people to help it by becoming teachers, they do not know enough, they

are not good enough, they have not time enough. Who does know enough? Who is good enough? Who has any spare time? How is the work to be done, then? If nobody is to do it, it will not be done. If one is to do it, why then one more than another? If you are not willing to help train your own children, what claim have you on the work and devotion of somebody else? It is not an uncommon thing for parents who might help in the Sunday-school, but do not, to find a great deal of fault with those that come and do the best they can. This seems hardly equal or fair. Let us all take hold of this work, and do the best we can. And let every one feel that it is not a matter of inclination or whim, but that there is an earnest duty connected with it. And remember that I do not want anybody for a teacher in my Sunday-school who thinks he is very wise. I certainly do not want anybody who is possessed with the idea that he is very good, and I really do not want anybody who has nothing else to do. I want just human people, loving, tender, devoted people, who appreciate that here is something that is worth their doing, and are willing to do the best they can. I do not care so much whether you teach theology, or how much religious history and biography you teach, or whether you are up concerning the missionary journeys of St. Paul, and are able to talk about them very intelligently. These are matters of interest and importance; but the principal thing, after all, is that you should bring the children with whom you come in contact close to a warm heart, that you should surround them with an atmosphere of devotion. Teach them a sense of duty; make them feel that life is noble, true, holy, high; that there is something grand to live for; and that they may become a part of this great effort of humanity to lift up the world.

This matter of religious education, then, is just this: it is believing in God; it is loving and reverencing all

truth, all sacrifice, all noble action; it is devotion to that which is best; it has power in it to dignify and redeem human life. If I had my choice whether my boy should become rich, successful as a politician or a statesman, a leader in society, a leader in the law, or distinguished as a scientist, an artist, or a musician, and be, not in a bad sense, but in the common sense, irreligious, or whether his whole religious nature should be properly trained, kindled into life, made active, supreme, controlling, I would choose this religious development above everything else. For it means duty, it means love, it means trust, it means peace, it means hope, it means linking the life with God, so that one shall feel that he is a part of the great movement of the divine life through the ages. It means redemption from everything selfish, petty, mean, small. It means that we shall be at last one note in that song of universal triumph that shall signalize the deliverance of mankind from all sorrow and all wrong.

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GOD.

BY

REV. SAMUEL R. CALTHROP.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,
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GOD.

The fulness of Him that filleth all in all. — Eph. i. 23.

A magnificent, an overwhelming conception, — God filling all things up with himself so that there is no room for anything else! God, who is all in all; God, in whom all atoms, worlds, and beings live and move; God, in whom all space, power, beauty, wisdom, justice, thought, love, and life exist for ever and ever; God, in whom man lives; God, whose space and force surround, interpenetrate, and include the body of man, whose thought and wisdom enlighten the mind of man, whose justice gives law to the conscience of man, whose love rejoices the heart of man, and whose life surrounds, interpenetrates, and includes the life of man, — God is the transcendent theme of our meditation to-day.

The theme being so vast, it will be wise for us to deal with it in detail, — in fragments, so to speak. Let us, then, take up one by one the attributes of God. Seeing only one side of God at a time, as it were, we shall be sheltered, as Moses was, by cleft of rock and shadow of hand from the full blaze of the ineffable glory.

Let us then say, first of all, that, since God is all in all — that is, is strictly infinite, — all the attributes of God are infinite. Each attribute is coextensive with every other attribute. Where any one attribute exists, there every other attribute coexists with it. Where space exists, there power, thought, wisdom, beauty, truth, justice, love, exist; for all these are attributes of God, modes of the being of God.

I. The space of God is infinite, and is coextensive with all the attributes of God. Spinoza, the father of modern Scientific Philosophy, was, as Schleiermacher lovingly called him, "a God-intoxicated man." He saw all things in God. And yet all that most men know, or rather misknow, about him is that he granted just two attributes to God, — extension and thought. Granted? Why, the man lived in God; to him God was all in all. What he did say was this: "God, being infinite, lives in infinite modes; and two of these modes are extension and thought." Out of the infinite number of modes he selected these two, simply because they are not only so closely related to man's own existence, experience, and thought, but also because on these two modes, as foundation, he builds his scheme of the universe.

The mind demands the origin of the visible universe; that is, demands something for that universe to rise out of. But the mind also demands that that something shall itself be unoriginated, as otherwise thought would find no resting-place. Two postulates will forever be essential to any system of thought: 1. Unoriginated Substance; 2. Unoriginated Space. On these as basis the whole universe can be constructed. If with Spinoza we consider space an essential attribute of substance, then Unoriginated Infinite Substance is the one all-sufficient postulate, which being granted, the origin of the visible universe is only a question of detail.

Our one postulate, then, is Unoriginated Infinite Substance; in other words, our one postulate is God. This mighty postulate once granted, all things, beings, worlds, are modes of motion of his Spirit. The material universe is fated or uniform motion; the spiritual universe is free or independent motion. In God alone do all things find their true substance.

There are other good reasons why, in our analysis of the attributes of God, we should begin, as Spinoza did,

with space. Space is the first attribute of God of which the infant mind becomes conscious. Indeed, we may say it is the one attribute of God of which all organisms are more or less conscious. The reason why the commonest minds know something about space is that they have a vast organic inheritance of space-perceptions behind them. Other organisms have labored, and they have entered into their labors. It is well, therefore, to begin where experience begins.

There are, however, difficulties on the threshold of our examination, which could completely block the way if they were not got rid of. The first class is the besetment of ordinary minds. There is an absurd notion floating about that space somehow exists of itself, independently of any being whatever. God, therefore, I suppose, in the far past found space conveniently lying round, and wisely made use of it for creative purposes. There must therefore be two independent existences, — God and space; for there would be no room for creation if space did not kindly lend itself to his design. Or, perhaps, the two high contracting parties agreed on equal terms, one to create and the other to find room for creation.

The mere verbal statement of the logical outcome of these vague notions is enough to show their absurdity.

The other class of difficulties besets more thoughtful minds. When a clever man has thought himself into a fog about space, he is apt to imagine himself quite a metaphysician, especially if he can repeat some perfectly unintelligible formula about space.

To quote a familiar unintelligibility, "Space is a form of thought." Now, thought is a mode of motion. Human thought is a mode of motion of the human brain, corresponding to and accompanying a motion of the human spirit. But motion is not a thing; it is a state of a thing. The motion of a snowflake is not the snowflake; it is a state of a snowflake. Therefore the expression, "Space

is a form of thought," is equivalent to this other, "Space is a state of the human brain." If, then, you really mean that space is a state of the small human brain, whose space-filling cavity is only a few cubic inches, this is not simply absurdity; it is delirium.

If, however, you say, "Space is the form of thought," — meaning by the form the mould in which all thought is, of necessity, cast, — you have stated a great truth, no longer a piece of metaphysical moonshine.

If, again, you say, "Space is a form of the thought of God," this is no longer an absurdity; it is only a confusing of two coexistent, infinite attributes of God, — extension and thought. God's thought, being infinite, is coextensive with God's space.

So much for these two classes of difficulty. There are signs abroad that they are both steadily diminishing. Ordinary minds are being educated into an awestruck sense of the immensity of space; and thoughtful minds are becoming weary of the endless treadmill of bad definition, mounted upon which a man can keep on walking upward forever, without rising a single inch.

I had gone thus far when I was summoned from my desk by a friendly visit from a book-agent. Silver and gold had I none, but what I had I gave. I showed him a grand sun-spot in the telescope. He was evidently deeply impressed, and suddenly burst forth with this: "The one thing that overawes and overwhelms me is the infinity of space! I can't take it in!" When a book-agent is overawed, it is a note of advance all along the line.

But to proceed. Space is the necessary substratum upon which, as foundation, all things stand. As all motion is performed in time, so all existence takes place in space.

Here it is essential to sweep away at once the ten thousand illusions which beset thoughtful minds when they first begin to think about space. We constantly hear such

expressions as these: "Thought requires no space;" "Feelings have no space-relations." The act of thought or emotion, we are told, is purely spiritual, — meaning by "spiritual" something that has no space-relations at all. Now, no entity exists that has no space-relations; each and every part of every being is always and everywhere related to space.

Thought in the human body is a wave vibration; and a wave vibration must be of something, and not nothing. No matter whether of brain and nerve, or of something ineffably finer, which corresponds to an archangel's thought as these do to man's thought, — always and everywhere thought will be a particular state of a being who is wholly immersed in space-relations.

Christianity has always believed in the spiritual body, — that is, in the continuance of natural and intelligible space-relations in the life beyond death. If, however, we take for granted the possibility of purely bodiless finite spirit, that purely bodiless spirit will be as completely immersed in space as rock, plant, animal, or man, — will have as perfect space-relations with the All and with each finite thing as if it were a ball of iron. As an example of moonshiny thinking, I take an instance from a really fine modern thinker. "We might as well talk," he says, "of pure spirit being white or black or green as speak of it being either here or there." This is simply idealism gone mad; and it is not too much to say that no scientific metaphysics will ever be possible to minds that have not got rid of these prescientific notions.

In the deepest sense, then, we may say that Space is The All, including within itself all forms of being, all matter, all spirit, and all manifestations of both matter and spirit; and Space, to all alike, is that underlying reality without which none of them would be conceivable.

To the archangel — that is, to the fully developed man — Space is the Presence of God, the fulness of Him that

filleth all in all, in whose fulness are included all power, all beauty, all intelligence, all truth, all tenderness.

This stupendous thought — the greatest that a finite mind can grasp — is just dawning on the mind of man. He has begun to behold the rising light who sees that there is no such thing as empty space. From this he can proceed to construct his universe.

The child first learns that the earth is a sphere eight thousand miles thick. The man all his life long is busied in filling up this conception, until at last each inch of that sphere is seen to be full of power and wonder and beauty. Oceans and continents, mountains and valleys, tropic splendors and icy poles, forests of a thousand woods, flowers of myriad hues, marts and cities and homes of men, steamships ploughing the mighty deep, trains rushing across the continents, wires flashing their electric message, — all the inconceivable variety of human life, — all this he sees on its surface alone ; while, beneath his feet, his thought penetrates below the roots of the mountains to that hidden ocean of living fire which eye of man shall never see.

Just so the first lesson for man as a child to learn is that space is infinite ; that he can send his thought onward for ever and ever in every direction, and still find himself in the very centre of things. Developed man is to fill up this skeleton conception with all worlds and beings that are, — with galaxy after galaxy filled with light and life ; with destinies innumerable in trillions and trillions of planetary homes ; with power, justice, wisdom, truth, and love vindicating themselves everywhere, in everything ; while through all, above all, around all, and in all shine the light, life, and glory of the One Eternal, in whom are all things and by whom all things consist.

II. The power of God is infinite, and is coextensive with space and with all the other attributes of God.

All space is powerful space. There is no such thing as a power-vacuum. Empty space is an empty phrase.

There is no cubic inch of empty space in the whole universe. Take a cubic inch of space midway between the sun and Sirius. Through that cubic inch the light and heat of Sirius pass. Let us analyze the beam by the spectroscope, and see what this means. Beginning at the ultra-red end of the spectrum, let us start with the invisible heat-waves. The longest of these we may call $\frac{1}{30,000}$ of an inch in length, — that is, our cubic inch will contain 30,000 such waves. Omitting all delicate gradations of half-waves, quarter-waves, and so on, we will consider the next group to be those waves of which there are 30,001 to the inch, and the next 30,002, and so on. Each group of waves is present in the cubic inch at the self-same instant, and each passes through without the least interference from the other. When we arrive at 40,000 to the inch, we are well inside the visible red; and we must keep adding 40,001, 40,002, etc., to our series of waves. At 50,000 to the inch we are in the centre of the visible spectrum, and keep on adding, remembering all the while that the yellow and green waves are wholly independent of the red. At 60,000 to the inch we are in the violet, and keep on adding as before. At 70,000, 80,000, 90,000, 100,000, we obtain wave-lengths in the ultra-violet, invisible chemical waves, each group being completely present in the cubic inch, and each being absolutely independent of all the rest. At last we have obtained a fair notion of the number of waves which are present in our cubic inch at the self-same instant from Sirius alone; that is, if we consider Sirius to be a simple tiny point of flame instead of being a mighty globe millions of miles in diameter, each square inch of whose surface sends forth a series of such waves. At the same instant there is present in the cubic inch a similar series of waves from every square inch of Arcturus, each wave of which does not interfere in the slightest degree with the waves of Sirius; also from Vega, Canopus, Regulus, and

the six thousand stars visible to the naked eye, and the twenty million stars visible in a great telescope. Also from the innumerable planets, whose faint light no telescope is fine enough to catch, a series equal in number to those of Sirius is present at the same instant in that same cubic inch. But how long is that instant? As light travels 190,000 miles in a second, this inconceivable series is changed into an entirely new series twelve billion times a second. Space is empty! But this is only one set of space-relations. Through that inch the gravitating relations of Sirius with the whole universe in a straight line beyond that inch pass; and you must prolong that gravitating line to infinity for Sirius alone. Then a similar line for Arcturus, Vega, and the twenty millions of suns in our galaxy, and the billion planets, and the uncounted nebulæ, and the infinite number of atoms of star-dust. Through that inch all this passes simultaneously: and at every instant a different line is drawn, as each of these trillions of objects moves on its destined course. Each change in a star quintillions of miles away is instantly, without any time interval whatever, reported in that inch, so that the movement of the whole universe incessantly registers itself inside that inch. If an archangel, after millions of years of study, could thoroughly know what goes on in that inch, we might say that he knew the universe.

The exactness of God is in that inch. Not a single one of this infinite number of results registers itself there wrongly, either as to quality or quantity.

The economy of God is in that inch, — not one vibration lost; not a single wave that does not produce its full effect; not an ounce of gravitation wasted.

The beauty of God registers itself in that inch. Apply, in imagination, a microscope magnifying trillions of diameters to that inch. Imagine each light-wave illumined, each with its appropriate color; each mingling with every other, with infinite perfection of shape and curve; each

running through each, without displacement, confusion, injury, or loss; and if the watching of sunlight or moonlight in its play upon the countless waves of lake or ocean be indescribably beautiful, what would such a sight as this be? The beauty of God is infinite, and is coextensive with space.

The love of God is in that inch. To whose eyes do these light-waves bring messages of cheer? To whose heart does day utter speech? To whose mind doth night show knowledge? Who inhabit the worlds that gravitation holds together? In a word, for whose sake is all this done? Out of the infinite number of acts of power that pass through that inch (and in that inch we may well say that the whole universe registers itself at each moment), not a single one can be detected which is for the benefit or advantage of God. All, without exception, are acts of bounty to his finite children. The love of God is infinite, and is coextensive with space. The devout mediæval man knelt in awestruck ecstasy before the throne of God. Around that throne the archangels stood, rank above rank. Around that throne wheeled the host of suns and stars. From thence, through the realms of space, flew thick and fast the arrows of his will. From thence he ordered all things in heaven and earth; and yet not Saint Bernard himself, in highest rapture of devotion, could conceive, as sitting on that throne, as much power, wisdom, beauty, and benignity as dwells in one single inch of space.

III. The exactness of God is infinite, and is coextensive with space and all the other attributes of God.

The Archangel Mathesis forever stands at the right hand of the throne of God. She claims it, not simply as her right, but as her duty, to calculate all of his wondrous ways that are calculable. Reverently, with folded wings, but firmly, standing on her feet, and looking with undazzled eye into the very blaze of the everlasting glory, on tablets of steel, with pen of adamant, she forecasts the

results of the exactness of God. She claims as her own every motion, thrill, and throb of every atom of matter in the universe. She foretells the fated course of the stars. She predicts the result of every heave of the mighty forces imprisoned in the bosoms of all worlds. No quiver of a leaf, no sparkle of a wave, no gleam of color in the tiniest flower, no throb of sunlight, moonlight, starlight, escapes her. Every bone, muscle, nerve, blood corpuscle, every hair-tip, every invisible molecular change in every plant and animal, pays tribute to her. No blush of a maiden's cheek, no thought in a sage's brain, no thrill of inspiration in a prophet's heart, no ecstasy of worship in the rapt saint's inmost soul, can claim complete exemption from her all-pervading scrutiny. She calculates the power of every heart-beat, the exact amount of tissue used up in each single thought, and knows that no life-change, however sublime it be, can ever go on without her. The whole realm of fate is her province; and fate, she knows, is the adamantine base on which all finite freedom must be built. And to man she saith, "Thy wisdom is to know this: on this stone build the house of thy life; for if it fall upon thee, it will grind thee to powder."

IV. The economy of God is infinite, and is coextensive with space and with all the other attributes of God.

The science of the last hundred years is one long comment on this mighty text. The eighteenth century discovered that matter cannot be destroyed. The nineteenth century has discovered that force cannot be destroyed. The twentieth will discover that mind cannot be destroyed. No single atom of matter in all the starry spaces was ever lost; nay, no atom has ever lost a trillionth part of its potency. No unit of force was ever lost. Unbroken, undiminished, it keeps acting on the universe for ever and ever. In all the starry spaces no mind was ever lost; it keeps living on in the midst of God for ever and ever. To-day we believe, to-morrow we shall know, —

"That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete."

Emerson said that it must be possible to make such a statement of religion as would make all scepticism ridiculous. We are fast arriving at this. Certainly, we are already able to make a statement concerning infinite space that makes all scepticism about infinite space ridiculous. The proof that power is coextensive with space makes all scepticism about infinite power ridiculous. A similar statement concerning that infinite exactness and economy which are coextensive with space is becoming part of mathematics. Very soon we shall have a statement of infinite beauty, justice, and love which will equally make all scepticism about them also ridiculous.

In the mean time never call a man an atheist who believes in and is greatened by one single attribute of God, who is awestruck with the immensity of space or ravished with the perception of infinite beauty. It is a great thing even to believe that power is, and is a rewarder of those who diligently seek it.

V. The justice of God is infinite, and is coextensive with space and all the other attributes of God.

Michael, the archangel of justice, standing at the right hand of God, with the balances in his left hand and a drawn sword in his right, is the twin brother of Mathesis; for exactness in the material world corresponds to justice in the moral world. That which a man soweth, that shall he also reap. He who sows to the flesh shall to the flesh reap corruption, and he who sows to the spirit shall to the spirit reap life everlasting.

The justice of God is everywhere, and everywhere makes right might, makes wrong weak, makes selfishness stab itself with its own hands.

Daily the solar system travels through its millions of

miles of space; yet no one ever saw one law either alter or grow weak. For the eternal law is equally potent everywhere.

But here comes a deeply needed caution. We are artificially dividing God into attributes.

If you take a red glass, you will see the whole view red. Take a blue glass, and you will see the whole landscape just as well as before. Every tree, hill, and house is in the same relative position; it is simply colored differently. It was red; it is now blue. And so on of all the colors.

Now, a red glass is red just because it lets the red rays through and stops the others. A blue glass is blue for the same reason. Only when you get a colorless glass — that is, one that lets all the rays through with equal facility — do you see the view as it really is in Nature, with its thousand hues of green and blue and gold.

In a precisely similar manner we may behold the Divine Nature as through glasses of different hues.

If we look at God through the red glass of justice, we shall see infinite space only under the color of justice. Star and system, each vast, each tiny life, will be there, only seen through the monochromatic light of justice. There will still be due proportion to everything, for God's justice is equally present in everything. All space will still be represented, for God's justice is coextensive with God's space. Only, we must carefully bear in mind that we are excluding from our sight the tender shades that are equally present everywhere. We are deliberately making an artificial glare over everything.

But some one may say, "But red and yellow, green and blue, are different from each other." Yes; but they are simply different movements of the same element. The immense ocean of ether, which is in all space, is one; and red and green and blue are all waves of that one ocean, differing in breadth and height, — that is all.

Just so we must think of power, justice, wisdom in God as so many modes or attributes of his one infinite being.

VI. The wisdom of God is infinite, and is coextensive with space and all the other attributes of God.

If an archangel had been given the problem, "Nothing but God completely filling all space with his presence; from this to show how universes of matter and finite mind can be created," — the archangel himself would have been baffled.

How to make shore and boundary in the midst of the fathomless deep of God; how to build little local earth homes in the midst of limitless space; how to contrive that somewhere in the eaves of the temple of eternity the sparrow should find a house and the swallow a nest where she might lay her young; how to make material globes out of pure invisible space, — that was the problem; and that problem has been solved.

Wisdom is that which conceives some mighty plan, in order to achieve some great object. The wisdom is shown in the perfect adaptation of the plan to the fulfilment of the object. Make no mistake here. Be sure you are thinking all wrong, if ever you attribute to yourself a power that the great universe has not. You yourself have some capacity to plan, have some power to adapt means to ends. What a surprising little person you would be if the whole galaxy were to stand astonished at the new revelation you made to it: no such thing had ever been seen before! It is true that God's plan in creation has not been understood; and it is sadly true that most men seem to have lavished so much reverence on an unreal plan of creation that they seem to have none left for the real one. The old idea was that God made stars, suns, earths, plants, animals, and men out of nothing, just as they are. This thought has vanished to return no more, but only to give place to the thought of a plan immeasurably vaster, more inconceivably wonderful. You have to conceive that, before ever the atoms were, the thought of God planned out the whole creation; that, out of his own

being, he willed that the innumerable atoms which form the visible universe should proceed, and that each and all, in perfect proportions, should join together to build the mighty whole; that everything thus planned and created was seen, from the very beginning, to be very good; that, from that infinitely remote instant, no single atom has ever changed in size or in velocity of interior motion; that the proportions of each, thought out beforehand, have been absolutely kept; and that the result of this inconceivable dance of matter has been, and will forever be, good; and that each combination is the best possible, in order to reach the result aimed at. The thought of oxygen and hydrogen combining to form water is an absolutely perfect thought, and will forever produce good. This is equally true of each one of the immense series. Silicon, nitrogen, and carbon spring from a divinely perfect thought, — a thought that has resulted in divinely perfect action; while each one of their combinations with the other elements, and each of their relations to the perfect whole, are equally perfect. Granted the atoms and their spin, granted the pressure of God's presence everywhere, and you can predict the galaxy. Grant free motion of finite spirit within infinite Spirit, and you have free souls peopling that galaxy.

You are shut up, I say, to the conclusion that, before ever the worlds and atoms were, the thought of God measured size, shape, and velocity of spin of every atom, and also fitted each set of atoms to every other before he made them, unless you are ready to maintain that from all eternity, in a given inch, ten thousand trillions of little, self-existent, eternal oxygen gods found themselves, to their surprise, all exactly alike, and agreed, as it were, to act together; and then, still more to their surprise, became aware that there were in the self-same inch twenty thousand trillions of little, self-existent, eternal hydrogen gods, all exactly like each other, and all precisely fitted to join together

with half their number of oxygen gods or goddesses, as the case might be, and so on and so on, to the end of the ridiculous chapter. If you back out and shelter yourself in mystery, and say that the mystery of self-existent atoms is no greater than the mystery of creation, then I answer, One tremendous mystery in one universe is immeasurably more probable than a series of little petty mysteries, whose number could not be put down, if you filled the whole orbit of Neptune with figures so small that you would have to use a microscope to see them.

Forever the atom sings its tiny song in the ears of God, — a song of perfect, infinite content; for it knows that it and its Maker are alike perfect. To all eternity, it fulfils his will with absolutely unquestioning obedience. Now floating in the sunlight, now imprisoned in the petal of a flower, now hidden for seeming eternal ages in the darkness of the mine or entombed in the awful splendor of the central fires; now throbbing with the sun's inconceivable heat, now chilled by the bitter cold of interstellar space, — always and everywhere, with equal and unchanged joy, it fills its tiny but essential place in the unfathomable creation of God. It cannot "serve him much," but it can serve him forever, and can "please him perfectly."

"Wouldst thou the highest life know, the 'atom' can whisper its secret;
What that is without will, that be thou, man, with a will."

VII. The love of God is infinite, and is coextensive with space and all the other attributes of God.

"Tell me a man's ruling love," said Swedenborg, "and I will tell you what he is." Equally true is this: "Give me the sum total of a man's actions, and I will find out from them his ruling love." Let us then judge God by his acts. Whose are the iron and the stone? Whose are the cattle on a thousand hills? For whom do waves sparkle, winds blow, leaves rustle, and for whom does earth

pour forth her fruit? Is it for the sake of God that the sun shines, that the moon lights up the night? Has he built the stars for his habitation, and do their light-waves carry messages to him? Does gravitation keep his house together over his head? What, then, is all this creation for? Whose wants does it meet? Whose intellect does it stimulate? Whose life does it create, protect, and glorify? There is but one inevitable answer. The whole galaxy is built, gravitation pulls, light shines, electricity thrills, and the atoms cohere to form the worlds, simply and solely for the benefit of God's children. The whole cosmos is one mighty token of his love.

It is strange to hear a man like Tyndall speak of what seems the "appalling indifference" of Nature to the woes of man, as if Nature were one thing and man another, and they existed in two different universes, made by two different beings, for two different purposes; the truth being that this seeming indifference is the crowning triumph of the love divine. It means that in matter God has subjected himself to man; that in matter God takes upon himself the form of a servant; that in matter God is absolutely obedient to the dictates of his creatures. Keep the laws of matter, and you can shape it to what moulds you please. Meekly it will undergo all the blows wherewith you fashion it. With fire-beat and hammer-beat, you weld it to your will. In every mighty workshop of the modern day there is many a Jacob who will suddenly awake from his dream and say, "God was in this place, and I knew it not." In matter, man is the master, and God the servant; man proposes, and disposes also. In matter, God abdicates realm after realm of his kingdom, in order that his children may have a kingdom too. But it is more than this. God has only his own substance out of which to make this kingdom. In matter, God, by a divine act of transubstantiation, forever saith, "Take, eat: this is my body which is given for you!"

But you say, "Now, you yourself are limiting the power of God." Nay; it is God himself who is limiting his own power.

We do not understand in the least the perfection of God's self-surrender until we know that it is absolute. God has given his worlds away, and cannot take them back again. He has given to us, his children, real eminent domain over the things he has made. God has reserved to himself absolutely nothing of the galaxy. All is now the absolute property of his children. He has only reserved to himself the right to protect, to guide, to ransom, to rescue, to forgive; the right in all their affliction to be afflicted; the right to comfort and cheer and strengthen, and the right to protect the weak against the strong and to visit the one who wrongs his neighbor.

Jesus did not invent self-sacrifice. He discovered it, — discovered that self-sacrifice is the great central law of the universe, that this is the heart of God. He obeyed it, loved it, lived it, and gave himself for it.

God is love. This is the gospel, the good tidings which proclaim liberty to all captives and comfort all that mourn. It is the good news to all, to the weak as well as to the strong. God is love.

Here is a poor, lonely, forlorn old woman, living all by herself in some crazy attic in a tenement house. Husband, children, friends, are all dead and gone. It is night. The weary toil of the day, too much for the feeble frame, is over at last; and now the one romance of her desolate life begins. By the light of her one tallow candle, she opens her well thumbed Bible at the passage which tells of that rest which remaineth for the people of God, — of that better, that heavenly country, where her dead are alive to God. Unconsciously she is trying a great experiment. In this miserable room is there anything besides rickety floor, falling plaster, crazy stove, and single chair and table and empty space around? Yes; there is. She reads

on, and the loved faces seem to smile once more upon her, and the loneliness departs; for the love eternal which surrounds her makes her sleep once more in safety.

She dies; and the beloved ones meet her, and lead her toward the great company of "loyal hearts and true," that she may hear the life-song of the redeemed. It fills her soul with joy at first. But very timidly, after a time, she asks if ever she may be possibly allowed just to catch a far-off glimpse of that third heaven she has read of, where God himself is moon and sun. Oh, yes! they will take her at once. Swiftly they carry her to that blest place. But where is she? Why, she is standing in the old rickety attic. This is the very stove, these the tumble-down walls. Here is each common thing that her past life wearied of so often. But, lo! wall and stove, chair and table, begin to shine, to grow transparent, to become part and parcel of the Love Divine, all love excelling. She has seen God, seen the fulness of Him that filleth all things.

One day, it shall be thus with us all: —

"Soon the whole,
Like a parted scroll,
Shall before my amazèd sight uproll,
And then be seen,
In unclouded sheen,
The Presence wherein I have ever been."

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MODERN BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

BY

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AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

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The Leadership of Jesus.
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(*As expressed in the By-Laws of the American Unitarian Association*).

"The object of the American Unitarian Association shall be to diffuse the knowledge and promote the interests of pure Christianity; and all Unitarian Christians shall be invited to unite and co-operate with it for that purpose."

(*As expressed by the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1894.*)

"These Churches accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man.

"The Conference recognizes the fact that its constituency is Congregational in tradition and polity. Therefore, it declares that nothing in this Constitution is to be construed as an authoritative test; and we cordially invite to our working fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our spirit and our practical aims."

MODERN BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

The word "criticism" is used in a broader and in a narrower sense. In the broader sense, in which it means any judgment on the facts of life, it is loosely equivalent to "science." More precisely, science is exact and systematized knowledge, and criticism is the judgment based thereon. But no science is perfectly exact, and no criticism is perfectly correct. Man's effort to understand the world has been going on since the beginning of human life, and his judgments have become clearer with the growth of the power of exact observation and with the accumulation of details. He has always been a student and a critic, growing older with each generation and learning to study more wisely. The primitive savage and the child have their opinions of things; the difference between Caliban and Newton is one of degree, not of kind. The nineteenth century is not "*the* age of criticism," but only the latest stage of human inquiry, when man's curiosity is keener and his means of research better than ever before.

The terms "criticism" and "critical" are therefore properly applicable to any sort of study. We may speak of "critical philosophy" or "critical astronomy," meaning thereby philosophical or astronomical systems, based on exact analysis of facts. But they have come to be used also with special reference to the origin of books, the determination of their date, authorship, and constitution. Many books have come into existence at times and under

circumstances when no record was made of their birth and growth, — such as ancient poems and religious works, Hindu, Persian, Chinese, Babylonian, Hebrew, Greek, and later, Icelandic, German, French, Anglo-Saxon. These grew up like the strata of the earth's crust, when there was no eye to witness and no hand to record the successive formations and depositions. It is the task of the science of criticism to penetrate the obscurity of their beginning and tell the story of their growth.

This science is not the creation of our day, though it is now fuller, rounder, and better entitled to the name of science than ever before, — just as our physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology, and all the exact sciences are better equipped and more effective than they were thirty or twenty or ten or two centuries, or even fifty years ago. It began, though feebly, long ago. Some centuries before the beginning of our era, the Alexandrian critics questioned whether the whole of the Iliad was the work of Homer, and whether the same man produced both the Iliad and the Odyssey. What the Greeks might under other circumstances have done towards building up a science of criticism, we cannot tell. After the Roman empire became Christian, literary energy was absorbed in theological discussion, and the old Greek people ceased to exist. It took many centuries for the barbarian conquerors of Europe to acquire literary training, and criticism did not show itself till poetry had reached its prime. Just after Milton's death, two famous literary feats were performed in England by Hody and Bentley. The former demolished the story of the pretended Epistle of Aristeas, that the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek at Alexandria by seventy-two men sent from Palestine at the request of the king of Egypt. The latter showed that the so-called Epistles of Phalaris, purporting to have been written in the sixth century B.C., were forgeries, and belonged to a much later time. Since Bentley's day,

and especially within the last century, an enormous mass of critical work has been done on the old epic poems of Greece, India, and Germany, the sacred books of the Persians, Hindus, and Mohammedans, on Shakspeare and other poets, and in ancient and modern history.

Of this great movement Biblical criticism forms a part. It is simply the application of scientific critical methods to the writings of the Old and New Testaments. It, too, has a long history. In the first centuries of our era both Jews and Christians had much to say about the character and authorship of certain works. Jewish authorities refused to admit the Book of Enoch into the canon, and probably, therefore, decided that it was not composed by the old patriarch from whom it purports to come. The Church Fathers debated the origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews and other New Testament books. Somewhat later, Aben Ezra and other Jews began the criticism of the Pentateuch. Martin Luther spoke with his usual frankness of the merits and demerits of various parts of Old Testament and New Testament. During the past two centuries Biblical criticism has been pushed in earnest, moving hand in hand with its sister sciences. Its steady, thoughtful advance is a sign of its reasonableness; there is nothing spasmodic in it, no break with the past. If its latest results seem revolutionary, this is only because its history is not kept in view. And the same remark applies to chemistry, astronomy, philology, and every other science.

ITS SPIRIT.

The term "destructive," often applied to the Biblical criticism of our day, is in one sense true, in another sense untrue and misleading. It is true of this science in the same way in which it is true of every other science. The astronomy of our day has destroyed a part of that of Ptolemy, Copernicus, and Newton. Alchemy and old chemistry have vanished before the new chemistry. All dis-

covery of truth must be at the same time destruction of error. A great part of all human progress, in the individual and in the community, consists in throwing away mistakes. But it is evident that this process of destruction is undertaken in the interests of truth, and that it results in building up something better than what has been destroyed. The good in the past is preserved, and something is added to it. Scientific progress is always relative, never attaining perfection; but it gives the world something better than had been known before. It does not set itself to destroy; it only permits the fall of a structure whose foundations have given way.

All this is true of Biblical criticism. It destroys old beliefs, not for the sake of destroying, but because it would supersede the old by a better new. It is bold because it is reverent. It values truth too highly to sacrifice it to any opinion, however supported by tradition or hallowed by associations. This statement will appear to some persons to be self-evident; but there are others who seem to think that, while other sciences are good, this one is irreverent and malignant. Yet who can recall the names of the great critics, Spinoza, Lowth, Astruc, Schleiermacher, De Wette, Ewald, Baur, Hupfeld, Bleek, Reuss, Delitzsch, Weiss, and suppose that they have been influenced by hostility to anything good? We may regret the loss of Romulus, Semiramis, and William Tell, but we will not accuse the critical historian of unfriendliness to these personages; and in the same spirit we should accept the transference of Joseph and Esther from history to legend and fable. Great indignation was roused by Bentley's attack on the pretended Phalaris letters. But all the world knows that Bentley was a true lover of Greek literature, and did it a service by putting these letters in their proper place. No one has ever doubted Lachmann's devotion to the old Greek and German poetry. Yet he spent a great part of his life in cutting the Iliad and the Nibelungen to pieces. These

scholars were not unfeeling, nor can that term be justly applied to the modern critic who undertakes to dissect the Pentateuch into its parts and assign to each its date and origin. It is simply a question of historical fact. The critic may be wrong in his conclusions, and must then be proved wrong by critical argument: but, in any case, his first duty is not to the Pentateuch or the Iliad or any other book as such, but only to fact.

ITS METHOD.

The critical method is best explained by examples. It is simply the method of all scientific research, the effort to find reality and orderliness. We have the right to expect orderly progress in the history and agreement between any writing and the time in which it is said to have been produced. We assume that there is an explanation for everything, if we can only find it. If we discover breaks in the traditional history, or inversions of the natural course of events, we feel warranted in calling in question the correctness of the tradition and seeking to introduce order. Somewhere in the history, we may hope to find firm standing-ground of reasonably assured fact. If we cannot do this, criticism and history are impossible. But such standing-ground secured, we may work our way from it in both directions, trying to discover in each generation the effects of its predecessor and the grounds of its successor.

If we wish to learn the real course of the political history, we must begin by fixing on a period in which the facts appear to be narrated in something like their true order. Let us take the times of Saul and David, of which we have a tolerably full account in the Book of Samuel. It is evident that there is a good deal of legend and confusion in the narrative, but still we gain a clear historical picture. The persons of Saul and David are fairly well defined, and the modes of life and ideas of the time are intelligibly described. David's character and career may be traced, not

as distinctly as we should like, but still well enough to enable us to form a reasonably correct judgment of the man. We see a society with somewhat loose political organization, largely controlled by force. David, first as chief of a marauding band of outlaws and then as king, is a brilliant soldier, with all the good and bad qualities that belong to an infant civilization. He is brave and generous, but also vindictive and cruel. He slaughters Amalekites and Moabites without mercy; but he is loyal to Saul, and to Jonathan and his son, and abandons his intended vengeance on Nabal at the intercession of a beautiful and eloquent woman. This character he retains to the end, and by this well-assured picture we may judge other details given of him. We reject the story of his last days in Chronicles, and the religious poetry ascribed to him in Samuel, because these cannot be brought into harmony with what we have reason to believe he was. If, now, we follow the history back we find in the Book of Judges a series of short sketches which agree in their portraiture of the social and political situation with the idea we have gained of David. They represent a state of society still ruder than his, — no national unity, no nation, the different tribes assailed by enemies, military leaders starting up here and there, assassinations, violence, treachery. This condition of things begins with the conquest, which was effected, according to Judges, by a series of isolated attacks by the different tribes. We see a horde of half-civilized tribes pouring into the land of Canaan at different points, gaining settlements here and there, mingling with the natives, but holding their place, gradually getting control of a considerable territory, and making attempts at organization (Gideon).

We thus have an intelligible progress, from the first invasion to David. But it is like entering a different world to open the Books of Joshua, Numbers, and Exodus. In their narrative, all the natural conditions of social growth

are reversed. The rude, slenderly combined congeries of tribes vividly described in Judges appears in the preceding generation as a well-organized nation with a great body of laws, and their isolated attacks are preceded by a complete conquest of the land under Joshua. This story, which violates all historical probability, must be rejected; the march from Egypt through the wilderness, and the exploits of Moses and Joshua must be regarded as a mass of legend, whose kernel of history, if there be any, we are not able to extract. This reasoning applies with still greater force to the stories of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, in Genesis. The ancestors of Ehud, Gideon, and Jephthah could not have led such lives. These biographies are beautiful legends, with here and there vague reminiscences of events of the time of the judges and later, or possibly dim recollections of an earlier period; but mostly they are products of the pious, patriotic imagination of a much later time, which liked to embody its own ideas in portraitures of eponymous heroes. The farther back its field lay from known facts, the more freely the imagination worked. Life becomes smoother as we move away from the social chaos of the Book of Judges: it advances in orderly historical fashion to Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezra, and in the opposite direction passes unhistorically to the stately, well-rounded figures of the patriarchs, and thence behind them into the region of most shadowy legend and myth. After David and Solomon, the records give a substantially trustworthy historical narrative, with a constantly decreasing admixture of legend.

In like manner we trace the history of the religion, assuming a progress from the ruder and simpler to the more refined and complex. The religious opinions current in the generations next following the invasion of Canaan are clearly given in the Book of Judges, and those of succeeding times may be made out in reliable outline from the other historical books and the prophetic writings. Popu-

lar traditions describing real occurrences and ideas may usually be recognized by their tone, and may be distinguished from the version of old events given by later writers who wrote under the control of a theory. The prophets are trustworthy witnesses to the condition of things in their own days. From these two sources we get a continuous history of the progress of religion on both its sides, the theoretical and spiritual and the ceremonial. The Israelitish documents themselves inform us that religious ideas continued to grow higher and purer, and the religious ritual more complicated, from the Conquest down to the times of Ezra and the Maccabees. In the days of Deborah, Gideon, and Jephthah, no rule of ritual or priest, great crudeness in morals and in the conception of the Deity. David begins the outward organization of religion by building a sacred tent in Jerusalem; but he thinks of the Deity as bound to the soil, has *terafim*, or household gods, in his house, and sanctions human sacrifice. Solomon, while rearing a splendid temple to the national deity of Israel, includes many other gods in his devotions, apparently unconscious of wrong, and, as far as appears, unblamed by any contemporary prophet or priest; and Jeroboam I., also unrebuked, sets up calf images of *Yahwe* for his people's worship. The struggle in the northern kingdom for the sole worship of *Yahwe*, against foreign gods (not against Jeroboam's calves), is set on foot by Elijah and Elisha. The ideas of *Yahwe's* pre-eminence over all other gods in power and holiness, and his close and tender ethical relation to Israel find expression in the words of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, who are indifferent to the ritual. The first great law-book, Deuteronomy, appears under Josiah, with the condition of whose time as given in Kings and Jeremiah it perfectly agrees. During the exile, Ezekiel and others develop the ritual; and the second Isaiah rises to noble conceptions of the Divine majesty and purity and the function of Israel. A century

or two later the Levitical law (as we have it in Leviticus and Numbers) is introduced into Palestine by Ezra, and for this period we have pictures of inward spiritual life in Job and the Psalms. So consistent a portraiture, in which the religious ideas everywhere answer to the social conditions, we are justified in accepting as substantially true; and by it we may test all that the Old Testament says about the history of religion.

The account in the Pentateuch of legislation by Moses appears entirely out of place. All this body of laws (except a few simple and obvious ethical and ritual prescriptions) was unknown to Gideon, Samuel, David, and the greater part of it to Amos and Isaiah. They show no consciousness of it, but live as if it did not exist. It consists of layers which correspond to various periods of the social history; it is the growth of centuries, the epitome of the development of ceremonial usage, the ritualistic epic of the nation. The Book of Chronicles, written several centuries after the exile, when the Levitical legislation was well established, makes David and his successors acquainted with the whole law of Moses, and must be looked on as untrustworthy in its accounts of religion. The final editors of the Book of Kings in like manner treat the earlier history from the point of view of the Deuteronomic legislation. The prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple was composed under such influence. The ritualistic tone of Joel marks it as a product of post-exilian times.

In the New Testament, where the space of time traversed is small, there is less room than in the Old Testament for tracing the relation between the social condition and the religious and ceremonial ideas. The Pastoral Epistles, however, seem to many readers to contemplate a form of church government, and to oppose a system of philosophy and religion of which there are no indications in the Epistles which are assigned with reasonable certainty to

Paul. The theological system of Hebrews differs from that of Romans so greatly that the two can hardly be by the same author.

Besides these general lines of inquiry, there are many detached historical references which are marks of date. As the mention of Sargon in Isaiah xx. puts that chapter in the eighth century, B.C., and as the way in which Jeremiah speaks of Nebuchadnezzar shows that the prophet was a contemporary of that king, so the descriptions of Cyrus, in the second Isaiah, fix this prophecy as belonging to the latter part of the exile; and the same date is given for Isaiah xiii., xiv., Jer. l., li., by the expectation they show of the speedy fall of Babylon. The mention of Greeks in Zech. ix. and Joel probably points to the Greek period — that is, the time after Alexander the Great — for these productions; and in the appendix to Balaam's last utterance, Num. xxiv. 24, the same period seems to be indicated by the reference to an attack on Asia by Kittim, or Greece (from which it would appear that additions to the Pentateuch continued to be made long after Ezra's time). The Book of Daniel gives details of the Maccabean times (B.C. 175–164) so minute that the year in which it was written can be fixed. The references in Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xxi., to the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans show that these passages were composed or completed after that event. On the other hand, it appears from the opening of the eleventh chapter of the New Testament Apocalypse that part at least of this book was written before the fall of the city and the destruction of the temple (A.D. 70), as the enumeration of seven emperors, the sixth of whom was contemporary with the writer (xvii. 10), connects this section with the last days of Galba or Otho.

Other general considerations come in to aid inquiry. The material of chapters i.–xi. of Genesis is not referred to in any pre-exilian book, but suddenly presents itself in the exilian prophets, Ezekiel and the second Isaiah;

whence we may probably infer that these stories were borrowed by the Jews from the Babylonians, and gradually worked up into monotheistic shape, and made the vehicle for the expression of Jewish religious ideas. The thought and linguistic style of Ecclesiastes belong somewhere near the end of the third century B.C., and the language and tone of the Song of Songs point to the same period. Certain of the Psalms, especially xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., clearly describe Maccabean conditions (near 170 B.C.) ; and many others bear the impress of the Greek Syrian period. Matthew i., and Luke i. ii., stand out of connection with, and contradict the body of, the synoptic narrative, and are later additions. The Book of Acts does not agree in all points with the statements of Paul's Epistles, and its desire to harmonize the Jewish and Pauline views of Christianity indicates that it belongs to a later generation than that of Peter and Paul. It looks back from some distance at the heroic formative period of the Church, smooths over differences, making Peter talk like Paul and Paul like Peter, and works up the tradition in a free way, with plentiful addition of discourses and stories ; and it appears to contain one allusion (xx. 25) to Paul's death.

ITS RESULTS.

1. In the first place, criticism has made a considerable addition to our knowledge of history by introducing something like order into material which had before lain in a chaotic and unintelligible shape. The way in which the old Jewish literature came into existence was not favorable to clearness of arrangement. The utterances of prophets were sometimes not committed to writing and collected till after their death. Histories, philosophical disquisitions, and poems were usually published anonymously, or the names of the authors were lost, less interest being felt in the authorship than in the contents. The modern sense of literary ownership hardly existed at all. Editors made

additions to manuscripts according to their own ideas of fitness; and scribes combined different writings in one manuscript for various literary and scribal reasons, — from supposed agreement of contents, or to fill out a manuscript, or on the authority of some oral tradition. Hence it comes that our Books of Isaiah and Zachariah and Proverbs, and especially the Pentateuch, are congeries of writings belonging to different times; Judges, Samuel, and Kings are composed of strata of many generations; the Book of Job contains a large interpolation (chaps. xxxii.–xxxvii.); and none of the titles of the Psalms are reliable. Then, further, when the Jewish scholars set about collecting the books into canons, the controlling consideration with them was not chronology or authorship, but what they conceived to be their value for the religious life of the nation, and this at a time when the nation had almost become a church. First, the legal books were collected, then the prophecies and earlier histories, then, in the second century B.C., the poetry and later histories and other books. This was the Palestinian arrangement; but the Greek translators in Egypt changed it by throwing all the histories together, and putting the prophets after the poetry. It is not surprising that, with such manipulation, nearly all traces of orderly historical arrangement were lost. The task of criticism is to break up these mechanically united masses, give each part its proper place, and vindicate the true unity of the whole. If it succeeds, it adds new chapters to the political, religious-ethical, and literary history of the world.

The political life of the old Israelites was meagre and of little interest; but it appears that there was a gradual progress from lawlessness to civil organization, from tribal isolation to national unity, and that royalty came naturally out of the felt needs of the people (Gideon, Saul).

Perhaps the most striking result of Biblical critical study is the clear view it gives us of the history of Israel-

itish religion, — the banishment of the disjointed and unsymmetrical, and the exhibition of continuous progress. Not the wonderfulness, but the disorderliness, has been got rid of, so that we see the great religious idea of Israel ever taking fuller and more beautiful shape. In the dim distance, a vague polytheism; then, as the nation grows into unity, a crude and narrow devotion to the national deity, with struggles against foreign worships, — purification of the conception of God keeping pace with the advance of ethical feeling, and enlargement of the ceremonial usage following in the track of social-political organization; intensity of national self-consciousness and of the monarchical idea of government leading to practically pure monotheism (in the time of the exile), and then a parallel development of ethics and ritual (the Levitical law), and the passage of the broken nation into a church. This history is not unlike that of other national religions, but it is specially interesting to us because of the fulness of details extending over a long period of time, and because of the great part that Israelitism has played in our civilization. New Testament criticism shows us how Paul's idea of Christianity stood over against the Jewish-Christian view (James), how there were various conceptions of the nature and work of Jesus (Matthew, Paul, Fourth Gospel), and how the constitution and government of the church were modified (Paul, Pastoral Epistles).

Our literary gain from criticism is twofold. We understand more clearly the historical development of the literature, and we feel more deeply its æsthetic power. The general order in the Old Testament is, folk-songs and stories of ancestors, small law-books, prophetic orations, continuous histories, lyric and philosophical poetry, great collections of laws and of traditions of primeval times; that is, first the spontaneous and naïve, and then the reflective, organized, and scientific, — an order that commends itself as natural as soon as it is proved to be true.

Time was when few people thought of the Bible as having literary charm; now it seems likely to get its rights. As interpolations are removed, unlike things separated and like brought together, and the proper historical setting given, we are coming to see the excellence of the Hebrew prose narrative style, unsurpassed for freshness and vividness, the eloquence of the prophets, and the beauty of the poetry. We shall feel the moral power of these writings not less, but more, for enjoying the literary charm. In the New Testament, the Epistles of Paul, with their eloquent treatment of doctrine and ethics, stand to the narratives of the Synoptic Gospels somewhat as the Old Testament prophets to the exilian historical books; then come the earlier portions of the Apocalypse, later Epistles treating new questions, the more reflective history of the Book of Acts, and the idealizing portraiture of the Fourth Gospel. Here, also, is a natural order that gives more living power to the moral element of the New Testament.

2. It is a still greater service of criticism that it helps to increase the moral power of the Bible by humanizing it. Here is a great literature whose deepest and best influence has been maimed by the false position forced on it. The Bible has been treated as an artificial book, its authors only seemingly alive. A wall has been built between it and human life. It has been dissected into texts till its human spirit has almost vanished. When we deplore the loss of its best influence, we do not mean that it has hitherto been without influence. On the contrary, we know that it has wielded immense power, and largely for good. But this power was based on the outward authority ascribed to the book as being a direct verbal revelation from God, whence also the artificial treatment of it as a hand-book of doctrine. No doubt this external stamp of authority gave it power, but not the best power. Its true authority is its appeal to the human soul. The divine that

is in it approves itself most perfectly when it issues from true human souls capable of manifesting the divine. It is living men and their thought that we want, for it is in this that we find help in the struggle towards the divine. Any book which takes hold of our human sympathies must find entrance into the soul, and, if it have real moral power, will penetrate and transform us with its spirit in a way far surer and completer than it could attain by a voice of command.

Criticism enables us to see in the Bible the souls and words of real men. We can trace the processes by which ideas and books came into existence. We can distinguish perplexities and doubts and the ways in which practical difficulties were overcome. The very simplicity of much of the material helps us to feel its naturalness. The stories of Elijah and Elisha and Samuel, the legends of the judges and patriarchs, the mythical narratives in the first part of Genesis, the naïve conceptions of physical law, show us the natural opinions of early times, while they are also made to convey moral-religious views. The later period of Israelitism used these flexible old stories as vehicles of higher instruction. Criticism is thus only an introduction to something better. Its object is to invest this section of human history with life. One who gets near to this ancient life will appropriate its ideal, and bear about with him in his own soul a purifying presence nobler and stronger than any word of outward command.

3. It is well to remember also that the modern criticism rids the friends of the Bible of certain inconveniences and unseemlinesses. Those of us who look on this book as a great literary and moral-religious classic of the world, and wish to see its power increased, have frequent occasion to deplore the manœuvres of attack and defence. One man laughs at the geology and astronomy of the Bible, and then sneers at the whole book; or he finds some moral crudeness, as the slaughter of the Canaanites or David's

crimes, and seems unable to find anything else. To him then replies some defender who seeks to prove the accuracy of Biblical physical science, and to show how God might reasonably command wholesale carnage, and how David might be a man after God's own heart. All this is lamentable. The occasion and possibility of these attacks and defences disappear as soon as we look on the Old Testament as the literature of an ancient nation, which grew from barbarism to culture, embodied in its writings all the phases of its life, and ascribed to divine command all its achievements. We may smile at the geology of Genesis and the astronomy of Joshua, as we may at the scientific ideas of Bacon and Milton; we may see David in his true light as a brave, cruel Oriental monarch, idealized by a later age into a model of piety; and we may justly regard the exterminating laws against the Canaanites (which were never carried out) as signs of an ethically rude age. But these things must stand by themselves, and do not affect the value of the better part of the Bible. The Israelites no doubt practised barbarities in war; it was the manner of the time. The Old Testament does not reach the idea of kindliness to foreign enemies; that is a defect in its ethics. The prophets are ethically narrow: their judgment of characters and events is usually determined simply by what they think the good of the nation; and they regard their own opinions as divine revelations. In like manner, the New Testament is not freed from ethical limitations. But when we put aside these scientific and ethical imperfections, there still remains a great moral ideal which we must recognize and honor. If we criticise the errors of the Bible, let it be with the reverence and tenderness with which we criticise the weaknesses of a great man.

There is one moral gain brought by criticism that should be specially emphasized. Great harm has been done by the indiscriminate defence of these crude Biblical statements and ideas, historical inaccuracies, discrepancies,

imperfect scientific and ethical ideas, — "difficulties" they are called, though this they are only from a certain point of view. One can easily understand why some religious men should wish to deny them and explain them away. They act under the control of a theory of inspiration which declares that there can be no errors in the Bible, and which they think essential to religion. Their system of defence is intelligible, but its results are bad. He who undertakes, for example, to defend as inspired the vindictive feeling of certain of the Psalms (as lxix., cix., cxxxvii.) is trying to ascribe to God what he would not commend to the community, because he knows that the moral sense of our times would reject it. It does not help the matter to say that these imprecations are directed against the enemies of Israel as the enemies of divine truth, and are, therefore, nothing but prayers in the interests of humanity that truth may prevail. If this were a correct explanation (which it is not) it would still not justify these Psalms. Their spirit is contrary to that of the Sermon on the Mount and our consciences, as any one may see if he will only undertake to apply these imprecations to the vilest wretches and greatest enemies of religion at the present day. His lips would refuse to utter the words. Now there is no difficulty for one who looks on the Psalms not as the words of God, but as songs composed by pious but imperfect men. But, if they be held up as in any special sense divine, then there ensues a conflict between the religious ideal and the moral sense. The attempt to force harmony between things radically opposed is apt to warp the intellect as well as obscure the moral vision. It can never be good for a community to believe that the moral standard of a supposed word of God is below its own, or to try to believe that a procedure, now certainly wrong, was formerly in some inexplicable way made right by divine command. The community will indeed preserve its practical moral judgments unimpaired; but the alleged word of God, vaguely accepted by the community as divine,

will cease to have any practical interest or value, or the attempt to prove that what is now ethically hateful to God was formerly acceptable to him will tend to produce intellectual and religious confusion. Criticism, by showing the human origin of the Biblical books, enables us to distinguish between the lower and the higher and truly divine human utterance. It teaches us to recognize the divine in the Bible and elsewhere, not by any outward sign, but by its appeal to what is divine within us.

We may sum up the moral-religious service of Biblical criticism in two words: it gives us the history of an attempt by former generations to interpret and perfect human life, and it leaves us free to choose from the Bible what can help us. Its first contribution is historical and archæological, its second touches the life of to-day. Its purpose is to separate between the transitory and the permanent, to distinguish the moral-religious essence and spirit of the Bible from the imperfect forms in which it clothed itself. It does not claim to have perfectly accomplished this purpose, but it hopes that a beginning has been made.

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THE MIND OF CHRIST.

For who hath known the mind of the Lord? . . . But we have the mind of Christ. — 1 Cor. ii. 16.

What was "the mind of Christ"? What, especially, was "the mind of Christ" about these deep mysteries of religion, — these mysteries of Being which surround and enfold us, and which man seems equally powerless to solve or to let alone? What I have in my mind is not to illustrate some single truth, or to enforce some pointed saying, but to try to make out a brief connected view of the whole subject of religion as it seems to have lain in the mind of Christ and as it came out here and there in his teachings. Of course it can only be a sort of outline: but in these great subjects it is good to have the outline clear; and then, as you read and think and study out his great, wise meanings, these meanings take their true places, and the whole gradually fills out into the full rounded faith of a soul possessed by the Divine.

But perhaps, on the threshold, some one may feel like asking: Why should we particularly want to know "the mind of Christ" on these great subjects? Yet, if the holiest and clearest religious thought is to have *any* weight, this is the purest and most impersonal form of it. The very argument of those who most react against the common idea of "believing in Christ" is, that what we want is not to believe in Christ, but to believe as Christ believed. Again and again I have heard this very point emphasized, — that it is not faith in Christ we want, but the same faith that Christ had. Well, then, what was the faith that

Christ had? You see it is the very same question, — what was "the mind of Christ"?

But, in reality, I think there is much more than this. This is simply regarding the mind of Christ as *our* mind at its clearest, — the purest reading of the human mind on the subject of Religion. But, see! the purest reading of the human mind, if you can come at it, — what is that but also the clearest reading of the Divine mind? That is how Christ's teaching came home as such a surpassing help to Paul and the rest. The source of all wisdom is God; but who can get close enough to God, see clearly enough, to interpret the Divine thought? But in Christ the vast Divine thought is focussed, as it were, into clear human thought. That is what he means by saying, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord? But we have the mind of Christ."

The more closely you look into it, the more you will see that, even philosophically, all this is sound. How does that Divine intelligence that is in and through all things express itself? In everything. The whole universe is its expression. Every flower is its expression. We have the mind of God in a lily; we have it in a snowflake; we have it in a ray of sunlight. Yes: but who shall interpret? These are inarticulate; they have no distinct voice. And more, they often seem contradictory. You think you discern what the mind of God is, as you look at a rose, or feel the glow of the sunshine; but what is it in the Charleston earthquake or in a mosquito? Here is the weakness of all that idea of turning from the necessarily imperfect revelations through men, to the grand revelations of Nature. It is right, if you like to do it; only, there are quite as many perplexing texts in the Bible of Creation as in the old Scriptures, and it is not nearly so clear. But do you not see how the two lines draw together? Even on the ground of the merest naturalism, that intelligence which is in the universe comes to

its clearest interpretation in the mind of man, — clearest of all, in the purest, highest mind. And yet, the moment you recognize that, you are also on the very ground of Christian discipleship, for who has been so pure and high as Jesus? With a new confidence I turn to that thought with which I started, — what is "the mind of Christ" about all this Divine relationship which enfolds and holds our life?

But now, how are we to find out what was "the mind of Christ"? For the very phrase brings us face to face with this broad fact, — that every church thinks it has "the mind of Christ," and yet the churches are so different, hold such different creeds! But how do they come by those different creeds? Think of the great councils that elaborated them! Think of the search up and down the whole Bible in order to find their materials! Why, that old thought — only slowly passing away even now — of the whole Bible as *all* inspired, all the very words of God, — every part equally to be consulted and equally authoritative, — that old idea is quite sufficient to account for all the varieties of creeds. I do not want to undervalue any part of the Bible, — it is all helpful in some way; but understand what it is: it is the mind of Abraham, the mind of Moses, the mind of Isaiah, the mind of Paul and John and Peter; and in all those minds there was something of the Spirit of God, — not equally in all, but something in all. But for the clearest mind of God we have said that we will look for the mind of Christ. Let us look for it, then, just in a simple, natural way. If you want the mind of Moses, you turn to the Pentateuch. If you ask what is the mind of Paul, turn to Paul's letters and the Acts of the Apostles; and it is a great thing to have the mind of Paul, for he stood very near to Christ, and saw the great light, and it burned in his soul, and made all things new to him. Yet it was not quite the same. I still come back to the original quest: What was "the mind of Christ"? and for that the course is equally clear. The

moment we really put it in that straightforward, simple way, there is no difficulty. Here are the stories of Christ's life; here are the accounts of his own preaching. Of course they are only imperfect. They do not tell all that he said or did, and what they do tell us has come through the medium of smaller, dimmer minds than his; and still, there it is that we come closest to him. There is the heart of the whole matter. Go to these Gospels! See what Jesus went about teaching, what he put foremost in his discourses, what he seemed most to want to persuade people to believe in, and to be, and to do: — there is "the mind of Christ"!

And what a deliverance it is, at once! I do not mean the mere deliverance from the intellectual perplexity of examining all the Scriptures, and all the varied systems of doctrine that men have thought they gathered from them. That is a deliverance; but it is a still greater deliverance to be lifted clear out of all that kind of thing. Do you ever remember in your school-days sitting puzzling over some complicated problem of arithmetic or algebra, — puzzling until your mind felt all confused, and your brain in a whirl, and at last it almost seemed as if the whole thing was nothing real, but just a feverish, aching dream; and then you shut your books and said you would just leave it, and you got up and went out on the grass and into the sunshine, and into all the sweetness and restful beauty of the open world? What a change it was! Do I exaggerate in saying that it is like that when you turn from all the puzzling and elaborate systems of the schoolmen, to that gracious life of Christ, with its quiet wisdom and holy thought? This is not *my* feeling only. Listen to this: "Read Jonathan Edwards's most famous sermon, and then turn to the opening sentences of the Sermon on the Mount, or read almost anything that fell from our Lord's lips, and I venture the assertion that any man, even the most unimpressible,

must feel" the difference. Those are the words of a good orthodox Congregationalist, the Rev. Reuen Thomas. And they are true. It is not that Christ formally condemns these intricate theologies, — it is that with him you feel at once that none of these things are the real heart of religion. He never troubled himself nor other people with such matters, one way or another. Religion, as he tried to make men realize it and live it, was a very simple matter. It was a great resting in a Divine Fatherly love and care, the upward look of thankfulness and prayer and trust; but hardly a word about God's abstract nature or the particular doctrine men should hold about him. It was a kind, brotherly, helpful feeling towards men, and a deep concern and sorrow for their sins, with solemn, earnest warning of how terribly sin separates us from God both in this world and in the world to come: but never a word of abstract doctrine either about human nature or about sin. It was a wide, large thought of the glorious heaven to come, as not merely intended for his own Jewish people (as they fancied) but for all the great family of God; and with a great dread, too, of what it would be to be shut out from that great blessedness by hardened sin, but no minute doctrines either about its glory or its woe. This was the religion of Jesus Christ: and all came to a point in that great word for its realization in life, "the kingdom of God," and in his great effort to draw men into that kingdom, to teach them his own large, blessed faith, and band them together for the helping and saving of the world.

That is "the mind of Christ" as you see it coming broadly out in the whole story of his life and preaching and death. And it is a grand help to see it. I do not mean that it makes everything clear. Of course not; but it makes one willing to leave a great deal not clear. It makes one no longer anxious to know just how everything is, or is going to be. Looking at that merciful,

trustful spirit of Christ, even if we never could get any further than that, it would be enough to rest in and to live by, — just in loving God, and trying to do one's best, and feeling that all will come out mercifully and rightly.

But this is not all the help there is in considering what was "the mind of Christ." We want to get further if we can. We want our faith to be not only this vague, trustful, hopeful feeling, though even that is very good, but we want to have it based on some large, but still clear, distinct thoughts. And this clearer thought is here for us still in the thought of Christ. If you take these different points that are involved in that trustful, hopeful faith, and ask what was "the mind of Christ" about God, and what was it about man, and what was it about the great life beyond, — that same way of looking at the subject will show you, not, indeed, any detailed doctrines, but a wonderful light of clear, simple thought in all these directions.

For instance, you say: What was "the mind of Christ" about *God?* Well, if you look at the way in which he was constantly speaking about God, it is not difficult to make out. For his mind was full of a great, possessing sense of God. You cannot find anything of theological definition; he does not seem to have taught a single new doctrine about God. It was simply the old monotheism of his people, — the one Almighty Being, but more spiritual and more loving; the great Providence in all nature, making the lily beautiful, and caring for the birds of the air, — not a sparrow falling to the ground without him, — and much more caring for his children; the Infinite Presence, the Holy Spirit, seeing us all in secret, hearing our prayers, and to whom he taught men to pray, not with formal prayers, but as children opening their hearts to the heavenly friend. Especially does he seem to have felt so intensely the presence and help of God in the inward

life of the soul; so that he spoke of his own dwelling in God, and God in him, and told his disciples that it was the same for them, — "He dwelleth in you and shall be in you." Not a word about "Trinity in Unity," or "three persons" in the Godhead, or any of those terms that the creeds have most dealt in; just the one Infinite Being, for whom the best word was "Heavenly Father;" — that seems to have been "the mind of Christ" about God; and he himself prayed to Him, and looked up to Him, just as he taught his disciples to do, — as he said, "My father and your father, my God and your God."

Again: What was "the mind of Christ" about *Man?* Perhaps you have been perplexed by some of the doctrines about human nature that you have been taught as the Christian belief on the subject. You have heard it laid down that man was created perfect at first, but that through Adam's sin the race fell into utter wickedness, so that every child is born corrupt by nature and incapable of any good. Well, if ever you are perplexed by such ideas, go to the Master, and see how he seemed to look upon those about him. Watch him take up the little children, with that loving word that his disciples must become like little children, "for of such is the kingdom of God." That does not look as if he thought them quite so lost and evil as the theologians have been apt to make out! And as for older people — well, he had a very deep sense of all the sinfulness there is in men, and I doubt if any one ever felt the sadness and terribleness of sin as he did; but yet he never seemed to feel that men were *all* sin, and could not be anything else: on the contrary, he always seemed to feel that they could be; and though he never laid down any definite doctrine of a natural goodness in man, he was all the time taking it for granted and appealing to it. And how simple was his appeal! Never a word about any scheme of salvation to be fulfilled, or any mysterious atonement to be made, be-

fore God's justice could be satisfied and man be received into God's forgiving love! It was simply "Repent, and leave your sins, and turn to the better way, and God is waiting with his free and gracious love. Watch and pray; do your own best, and seek the help of God, and God's love and help are with you!" Indeed, he seems to have had a very tender reverence for human nature; and instead of feeling it all lost and ruined, he seemed to feel how little of real, loving turning to God would make the world almost like Heaven!

Once more: What was "the mind of Christ" about *the life to come?* That is perhaps, of all subjects, the one on which we most long to know his real thought. Yet here his language is so full of parable and figure that it is often difficult to be clear about it. And the difficulty has been increased by the way in which those parables and figures have been taken literally, and mere touches of vivid imagining have been interpreted as exact descriptions of the things to come. Still I do not think that it is at all impossible to come at Christ's real thought, if we divest our minds of this idea of looking for exact doctrines, and simply try to gather his larger thought. Thus, the main thought of man's immortality stands out clearly all along his teachings. His words are all alive with it, — with the sense that this is only the beginning of things, that that change which men call death is only a passing on into the higher world. His thought of this is all the more striking because so different from the belief of the time. Not all believed in the life to come. Those who did, believed only in some dim, distant, far-away resurrection, hardly connected with the present life, hardly any living comfort or hope. To Christ it seems to have been so close, so present, — divided from this earthly being, as it has been said, only by some "thin partition of unconsciousness," — that he could hardly speak of death except as falling asleep, and going to the Father.

And then his one predominant thought about this great future was its moral character, — that all men take on with them into its searching light and judgment just what they have been on earth. His general thought about it, indeed, seems to have been of a great wide heaven into which the multitudes of earth should come from north and south and east and west, — such a wide hope as his people (who never thought a Gentile could be there at all) had never dreamed of. Yet, just because the light seemed so wide and bright and glorious, did the shame and anguish of being shut out from it seem the more sad and terrible. And so came those stern warnings against sin; those dread pictures of the selfish and the hardened wanting to enter in and being shut out into the outer darkness; those sometimes piled-up figures of fire and pain, to arouse torpid souls to the awfulness of awakening from the dreams and disguises and deceptions of earth to the light of that greater world where all sin unrepented would be hell. I do not wish to soften down those parables of judgment; but, still, never forget that they were parables. And to understand Christ's thought about them you must think of them as they were in him, — as folded in by his larger thoughts of hope and love. I do not mean that he ever laid down any distinct doctrine, either of future probation or of all being at last redeemed. What was in his mind was just to put to men with all his power the dreadfulness of passing on hardened and sinful to that great world which might be such a bright and glorious blessedness. But over all lay still, in his mind, the Infinite Love; and here and there it touches even his darkest parables of woe with little lights of hope, which show you that at any rate there was no thought in him of eternal despair! No: even for those who seem most lost, the mind and spirit of Christ leaves always hope; and for the common life of mankind, his thought of the great future seems full of tender and encouraging graciousness.

I dare say some of you may feel that I have not exactly met the common questioning upon these deep things just in the way people usually expect. True; and I have not, because I feel that that common textual method of parcelling out these great thoughts of religion into clear-cut little doctrines is all wrong! It is such formal statements which most keep people apart. I wish that we all could pass beyond, behind, those old ways of doctrinal statement, and simply look to that wonderful life which eighteen centuries ago touched the world's heart with such a new outburst of piety and faith. We should have our faith cleared and strengthened, and feel how, behind all differences of opinion, men are not so far apart in the real spirit of their seeking for God, and thinking of men, and looking on to the great life beyond. And it would be thus, in this larger thought, that we should find most help and joy in religion. You make out little statements wrapped up in packages and labelled this or that "doctrine," and after all they are not much help or joy. But take Christ's hand, and simply look up reverently towards that great Life as he breathes out "Our Father!"—stand by his side, and look with him into the infinite meanings and possibilities that are in the face of the youngest child or poorest man,—stand by his cross, and catch the great glad trust and hope of that dying cry, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit!" and there—there is something that lifts up your soul into life's grandest meanings! There is something to think about, and to talk of with one's closest friends, and to pray about to the great Friend of all! And there is something that, so thought of and wrought into our minds, will help us to walk these common ways with firmer tread of duty, and with uplifted faces of happy trust, knowing that the things invisible are the things that are forever!

UNITARIANISM.

BY

REV. RUSH R. SHIPPEN,

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AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,

BOSTON.

Our Faith.

The Fatherhood of God.
The Brotherhood of Man.
The Leadership of Jesus.
Salvation by Character.
The Progress of Mankind,
onward and upward forever.

Typical Covenant of a Unitarian Church.

In the love of the truth, and the spirit of Jesus Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man.

Our Declaration

(*As expressed in the By-Laws of the American Unitarian Association*).

"The object of the American Unitarian Association shall be to diffuse the knowledge and promote the interests of pure Christianity; and all Unitarian Christians shall be invited to unite and co-operate with it for that purpose."

(*As expressed by the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1894.*)

"These Churches accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man.

"The Conference recognizes the fact that its constituency is Congregational in tradition and polity. Therefore, it declares that nothing in this Constitution is to be construed as an authoritative test; and we cordially invite to our working fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our spirit and our practical aims."

UNITARIANISM.

Unitarianism is primarily the belief in the unity of God. In a comprehensive sense it includes, with a part of Christendom, Jews, Mohammedans, Deists, and all who worship God as one. For this use, however, the accepted term is "Monotheism." Within the ranks of Christendom the name "Unitarian" is given to those who reject the dogma of the Trinity in its varying phases of a threefold or tripersonal deity, whether three in substance, or only in name and form, and who maintain the essential unity of God as Creator and Father, and the derived nature and subordinate rank of Jesus Christ. Within this range opinions about Jesus vary, from those that assign him a pre-existent and superangelic rank, to an estimate purely human. While the name strictly touches this doctrine only, it is vitally related and gives character to the whole system of belief concerning human nature and its need, human life and its purpose, this world and its meaning, and the future world and man's destiny.

I. History of the Belief.

1. *In the Early Church.* — Unitarianism has accompanied Christianity from the beginning at least as one form of its faith. Unitarians maintain that their faith is that of the Early Church as taught by Jesus and his apostles. They appeal to Jesus as the supreme teacher of Christianity, finding in his word and character the essence of the Gospel. They state their chief tenets in the language of

the New Testament, without note or comment: "To us there is but one God the Father;" "This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." They hold that the doctrine of the Trinity, so startling to Jews trained in the worship of one God, and expecting a Messiah of human lineage, would have required a statement more explicit than any found in the Bible record. They hold that the doctrine, at best, is an inference from texts of obscure meaning or doubtful genuineness, every one of which is separately abandoned by prominent Trinitarian scholars as not expressly teaching the doctrine: while the Roman Catholic holds it on the authority of his Church, deeming it not clearly taught in the Bible.

Unitarians consider the doctrine of the Trinity a gradual development as Gentiles came into the Church and subjected the Gospel to the influence of Oriental speculations and Greek philosophy. The followers of Zoroaster and Plato, teaching the eternal antagonism of spirit and matter, filled the time with speculations concerning God as a superior essence creating the world by inferior divinities. In the Platonic doctrine of the Logos began the gradual deification of Jesus, consummated only by votes of successive councils of the fourth century. A succession of testimonies meanwhile show the continued existence of faith in the undivided unity of God. In the latter half of the second century Justin Martyr says: "Some there are among ourselves who admit that Jesus is Christ, while holding him to be man of men." Still later, Tertullian says: "Common people think of Christ as a man." About the year 200 Tertullian was himself the first to introduce into Christian theology the word "Trinitas." The unity of God was expressly taught by a sect called the "Monarchians." Some held that God the Father himself was born and suffered in human form, and hence were called "Patripassians." Of these were Beryllus, bishop of Bostria

in Arabia; Praxeas, who came from Asia Minor to Rome; Nœtus of Smyrna; and, still later, Sabellius, a presbyter in the Church about A.D. 250, the most original and profound mind among the Monarchians. The teachings of Sabellius, variously represented by friend and foe, are not very accurately to be known. He had followers as late as the fifth century in Mesopotamia and in Rome. Others held that Christ was in nature purely human, but exalted by his superior measure of divine wisdom and inspiration. Of these were Theodotus of Byzantium, Artemon of Rome, and Paul of Samosata. The last, a noted teacher, bishop of Antioch from the year 260, makes prominent the human personality of Christ, teaching that "Christ was a man . . . exalted to peculiar union with the divine nature by the illumination of divine wisdom." Deposed in 269, his name became a synonym for heresy; and in the next century the celebrated historian Eusebius confirms the testimony that he taught "that Christ was in nature but a common man." Speculation and controversy thus went forward until, in the beginning of the fourth century, the relation of God and Christ had become a question of *substance* or *resemblance*. In the famous theological struggle over the terms *homo-* and *homoiousian*, whether God and Christ were of the same or only similar nature, Arius maintained that Jesus was a created being. He was opposed by the bishop Alexander, aided by Athanasius; and the controversy waxing hot, opinion was divided, until Constantine, recently come to the throne as the first Christian Emperor, summoned, in A.D. 325, the Council of Nice, in which the angry storm of the three hundred theologians was allayed, and Arius and his doctrine were condemned. The historian Eusebius naïvely says: "The Emperor succeeded in bringing them into similarity of judgment and conformity of opinion on all controverted points." For another century controversy continued as to the Holy Spirit, the double nature of Christ, and Mary

as mother of God, all of which questions were gradually settled by majority votes of successive councils, culminating in the Creed long attributed to Athanasius, but now believed to have been written a hundred years after his death.

In surveying the opinions of the Early Church, it thus becomes clear that Unitarianism existed from the beginning; that the belief in the Trinity and in the deity of Christ was three or four centuries gradually forming; that during this period the range of opinions concerning Jesus was as widely varied as at the present time; that two or three hundred years after the death of Christ it was still doubtful, and settled only by the majority of a council whose decision was secured through the influence of a newly converted Emperor, whether the Christian Church should regard Jesus as a person in the Godhead, or, as the Apostle Peter declared him, "A man approved by signs and wonders which God did by him." The Unitarian deems the doctrine of the Trinity a corruption of the pure Gospel by philosophic speculation, and seeks, as the essence of Christianity, the practical religion taught by Jesus Christ, — of love to God and man.

It may be added as a fact of interest, and significant of the aid rendered to Christianity by this branch of the Church, that one of the chief lights of Arianism, the Gothic Ulfilas, — who was born near the lower Danube at about the time of the Council of Nice, and consecrated bishop at the age of thirty, and who was familiar with the Latin, Greek, and Gothic languages, — devoted himself to the religious and social development of his people, and rendered his name forever to be honored by his translation of the Bible into his native tongue, which at once helped to give lasting form to the Gothic language and to perpetuate Christianity among the Gothic people. For four centuries the Goths were accompanied in their migrations by this sacred national work, portions of which

still remain in the University Library of Upsal, in Sweden. The sect of the Nestorians also, who may be fairly counted on the Arian side, in about the seventh century were the first to carry Christianity to the far East, into Persia and China.

2. The Reformation reveals Unitarianism existing, and awakens it to renewed life. It accompanied Protestantism from its cradle, as it had accompanied primitive Christianity. Before Luther's death it had appeared in Italy, Hungary, Poland, Switzerland, Germany, and England. In the contest with the Pope and his hierarchy, the majority of Protestants, absorbed in the struggle for freedom, accepted unchallenged, as their hereditary belief, substantially the doctrine of the Romish Church. Yet in every Protestant confession the doctrine of the Trinity is reiterated, as if on the defensive; while the testimonies of Calvin, Melanchthon, and others against the Unitarian heresy reveal its strength. Among the many who before and after the Reformation bore witness to their faith in persecution and death, Unitarianism has its own list of confessors and martyrs. In Bishop Mant's History of Ireland is a brief account of Adam Duff, who for his denial of the Trinity was burned alive near Dublin in 1326. The early theological repositories make record of a priest, William Taylour, put to death as an Arian in England in 1422.

Conspicuous among the Reformers were the Unitarians Servetus and the Socini. Michael Servetus, born in Villanueva, Aragon, in 1509, the year of Calvin's birth, while studying law at Toulouse heard of the contest, left that city and his profession and sought the Reformers (Ecolampadius at Basle, Bucer and Capito at Strasburg, and Calvin at Paris. His bold genius pushed past them in seeking a rejuvenated Christianity. Skilled in mathematics and the Oriental languages, in law, medicine, and theology, his fearless spirit of inquiry and eager thirst

for truth gave the highest interest to his religious speculations. "Your Trinity," he declares, "is a product of subtlety and madness. The Gospel knows nothing of it. The old Fathers are strangers to these vain distinctions. It is from the school of Greek sophists that you, Athanasius, prince of tritheists, have borrowed it." Such declarations provoked bitter hostility. Zwingli denounced him as "that wicked and cursed Spaniard;" Calvin spoke of him as the "frantic" Servetus, who "has thrown all things into confusion." When Servetus published his seven books on the errors of the Trinity, and his more noted work on the restoration of Christianity, severely criticising Calvin's views, his doom was sealed. On his flight from persecutors at Vienne, as he stopped at Geneva, Calvin caused his arrest and trial. The flames of Protestant persecution dismissed into eternity, through frightful agony, this brave soul that dared assert the absolute unity of God. The leading Reformers expressed no regret, but silently or openly approved it.

Lælius Socinus, born in Siena in 1525 of distinguished ancestry, an able critic, familiar with Biblical languages, a member of the famous Vicenza Secret Religious Society of Forty, on their dispersal fled to France, England, Poland, and at last to Zurich, where he died at the age of thirty-seven. A student rather than reformer or controversialist, he yet left behind him a deep impress of his free and original thought. His nephew, Faustus Socinus, born also in Siena, in 1539, was expelled from Italy at twenty, studied at Basle, and visited Poland and Transylvania, where, carrying forward his uncle's thought and work until his death in 1604, he became the more active and noted leader of Socinianism.

Less conspicuous, but with these, may be named in Germany, Cellarius, Capito, Johann Denk, Sebastian Frank, and the scholarly Ludwig Hetzer, one of the earliest leaders, who for writing against the deity of Christ was

imprisoned by the magistrates of Constance, and suffered death in 1529; also Claudius of Savoy; George Blandrata in Transylvania; Gonesius and Farnovius in Poland; Stephen Dolet, friend and disciple of Servetus, who at the age of thirty-seven was tried for heresy and burned alive in Paris in 1546; and John Valentine Gentilis, who preached in France and Switzerland, and suffered death at Berne in 1566, saying, as he laid his head on the block: "Many have suffered for the glory of the Son, but none have died for the glory and supremacy of the Father."

3. In *Italy* before the Reformation the doctrines of the Trinity encountered dissent, the advocates of which were driven from the country, or were attracted by the larger freedom farther North. Thus went forth many to Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, and Poland, among whom were the famous Socini and the celebrated preacher Bernardo Occhino. Hundreds also were put to death, among whom were James Palæologus, burned at Rome, and Sega and Guirlanda, drowned at Venice. It was in this interest of reforming the faith that the society was formed in Vicenza of forty persons of talent and learning, deniers of the Trinity, who met in secret, of whom, after 1546, many were imprisoned, and others suffered death. From that time there has been no recognized or organized Unitarian body of any strength in Italy, although it is believed there are many who hold this faith. The advocate Magnani has for years conducted Unitarian services at Pisa; the astronomer Filopanti has lectured in Bologna, Milan, Rome, and Naples upon Channing, the distinguished American Unitarian leader, of whom further mention will be made below; and Professor Ferdinando Bracciforti, the translator of Channing's works into Italian, has for years conducted Unitarian services at Florence and at Reggio. Professor Sbarbaro, in the "Rivista Europa" of October, 1879, argues that Channing supplies the form and spirit of the

religion needed by the craving heart of thoughtful Italy. He there says: "I have made choice of Channing as the most eloquent witness and irrefragable proof of the new evolution of Christian thought in the world, and of the reform which is in process of initiation in human religiousness, because in the story of his career and in the fortunes of his books, in the marvel of their rapid diffusion in all corners of the civilized earth, is to be seen the most luminous and triumphant proof of the reality of that movement which is inwardly transforming European society, and bringing it, little by little, to worship under the roof of a new temple,—that Church, really catholic, whose frontal shall bear, without untruth, the inscription, 'To the One God,' which Mazzini hailed on the façades of the Unitarian churches of Hungary."

4. In *France*, reporting two million Protestants, since the martyrdom of Dolet in Paris no specific Unitarian movement has been known. But during the last fifty years, in the Reformed Church, which is mostly Trinitarian, has been a growing liberal party, among whom the Coquerels, father and son, Martin Paschoud, Fontanes, Colani, Vincent, and the present liberal Parisian pastor Auguste Dide, have substantially represented Unitarianism. Their papers were formerly "Le Reformateur" and "Le Disciple de Jésus," and at present "La Renaissance." Said Renan, in a brilliant essay on Channing, in 1863, "France has rejected Protestantism. She is the most orthodox country in the world because she is the most indifferent in religious matters."

5. In *Switzerland*, where the early Unitarian martyrs (Hetzer at Zurich in 1529, and Servetus at Geneva in 1533) paid the penalty of their lives, the spirit of liberty in Church as in State has prevailed; and, without separate formal organization, Unitarian sentiments from the first have been steadily held. The Swiss Church has been committed to no dogmatic declaration, but only "to preach

purely and fully the word of God as contained in the Holy Scriptures." The Genevan Church in general denies the equality of the Son with the Father, and the Godhead of the Messiah. The correspondent of the "Evangelical Christendom," Feb. 1, 1875, says: "The Grand Council of Basle, on the question of the deity of Christ on May 2, 1871, decided in the negative by a vote of sixty-three voices against forty-eight." Étienne Chastel, professor of ecclesiastical history at Geneva, is among Channing's most ardent admirers. French Switzerland has itself produced two great liberals, — Samuel Vincent and Alexander Vinet, who were largely in sympathy with Unitarian thought.

6. *Holland*, like Switzerland and America, always hospitable to those who are exiles for conscience' sake, has never been wanting in representatives of a free theology. Of its two and a half million Protestants, about four fifths belong to the Reformed Church; which again has its two parties of Orthodox and Modern. Since the burning, in 1569, of Flekwyk, a Dutch Baptist, for his denial of the Trinity, there has been continued progress. In a popular religious work by Dr. Matthes, it is a significant fact that the chapter on God has no allusion to the Trinity; but at the close occurs a foot-note in which, with the calm spirit of the historian rather than the temper of the controversialist, he speaks of "the antiquated doctrine of the Trinity." The creed adopted at the Synod of Dort in 1618 has given place to the acceptance of the Bible as the standard of faith, together with the toleration and diversity of sentiment which are sure to follow.

7. *Germany*, that gave the world, along with Luther, some of the first Unitarian Reformers, during the succeeding three and a half centuries, without any distinctly organized Unitarian movement, has, with its noted scholarship and philosophy, produced all shades of rationalism, from extreme orthodoxy to extreme unbelief. In South Germany, governmental statistics of 1861 report three hundred

and twenty-five thousand Unitarians. Says Dr. Beard: "The Trinity subsists among the learned of Germany only in name. The patristical doctrine has been attenuated to a shadow or reduced to nothing; if brought down into scriptural form it is abandoned; if converted into three somewhats, it is no longer such as the creeds declare or their advocates recognize. The doctrine once taught and held for an essential article of Christian faith is virtually repudiated and silently disowned." A translation of Channing's complete works, by Sydow and Schultze, was published in Berlin in 1850. More recently, the Chevalier Bunsen, in his "God in History," speaks of Channing as a "grand Christian saint and man of God, — nay, also a prophet of the Christian consciousness regarding the future." The Protestanten-Verein of Germany, established at Eisenach in 1865, a free Union Association holding annual conference sessions, though not organized on a dogmatic basis and not professedly Unitarian, welcomes and cherishes fellowship and sympathy with the Unitarians of England and America.

8. In *Poland* the Unitarian faith early took a firm hold and spread rapidly, aided by refugees who there found a hospitable asylum. Yet it was not without persecution at the start. In 1539, in the market-place in Cracow, was burned Katharine Vogel, at the age of eighty, wife of a goldsmith and alderman, condemned for denying the deity of Christ and affirming the divine unity. In 1552 the Bible was translated, chiefly by Unitarian scholars, into the Polish language. Hither came Faustus Socinus, around whom flocked converts from all ranks and classes of society, among them many of the nobility. These last, protected from persecution by the privileges of their rank, proved especially favorable to a movement which, more than any other of the time, seemed destructive of the traditions and prestige of the Romish Church. The prosperous commercial city of Racow, with its large printing establishment, publishing

many of the best books of the day, became its headquarters. Here was issued the famous Racovian Catechism, which became widely known and influential, and was afterwards signally burned in London. King Sigismund II. became a convert, and during his reign this party of Reformers grew strong enough to form a church of their own. For a century it flourished, till, in 1660, Prince Casimir, a cardinal and a Jesuit, coming to the throne, with unrelenting persecution burned the homes of its adherents, driving them into silence, exile, or death. So effectually did he exterminate it, and with it the spirit of liberty in the State as in religion, that it may fairly be said that Jesuit tyranny obliterated at once a church and a nation.

9. In *Transylvania* Unitarianism was earliest declared by Lælius Socinus, escaping from persecution in Italy, and later by his nephew, Faustus Socinus, who in accordance with the Racovian Catechism organized a church. Georgio Blandrata, an Italian from Piedmont who became court physician to the Polish king Sigismund, also eagerly proclaimed the Unitarian faith. As the Hungarian king John Zapolya married Sigismund's daughter, Blandrata came with them to Transylvania, and at Thorda communicated his views to Francis David, then the court preacher, who warmly welcomed them and became their zealous advocate. As freedom of conscience was proclaimed in the year 1557, a fair field was opened, and Francis David became the chief apostle and real founder of Unitarianism in Transylvania. In 1566, from a round stone in the open street of Kolozsvar (Anglicized Klausenburg), he preached to a great multitude, asserting the Father to be the one only God; and such was the effect of his discourse that the whole city of Kolozsvar, including the Prince and his Court, were converted to the Unitarian faith. In 1568 the Unitarian religion was legally recognized, and many Unitarian churches established; and in 1868 the three hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the first Unitarian Church was celebrated.

While persecution was rife in the rest of Europe, Transylvania was early conspicuous for religious liberty. Four forms of Christianity — the Roman Catholic, the Reformed Evangelical, the Lutheran, and the Unitarian — were recognized by law with equal rights, with penalties for those only who should infringe on the rights of others. Under this broad tolerance Unitarianism, which was indeed largely instrumental in producing it, gained a strong foothold, which, under subsequent persecution, it never wholly lost. Unhappily, the early tolerance was of short duration. The Bishop, Francis David, himself became a martyr to the faith, dying in prison in November, 1579, — an event the tercentenary anniversary of which, in 1879, was celebrated in the land of his martyrdom. The Unitarians of Transylvania are said to have at one time in the sixteenth century possessed four hundred church buildings and eleven colleges. Through the last two centuries the iron hand of Austrian and Jesuit oppression has mostly dispossessed them of churches, schools, lands, and even of civil as well as religious rights. They were robbed of their churches, which were transferred to the Jesuits.

During the present century, in 1848, and especially in 1868, they have regained their rights and privileges, and something of their former strength. They are reported as having a population of sixty thousand, now increasing, with a hundred and eight churches, a chief college, and divinity school connected with it, at Kolozsvar, with ten professors and three hundred and seventy-four students; two smaller colleges at Thorda and Sz Keresztur; a periodical, the "Christian Seed-sower;" and many distinguished scholars and literary men, preachers and civilians, in their ranks. Their church government is that of Episcopacy, strongly modified by Congregationalism; and their present bishop is Joseph Ferencz.

As from 1868 Transylvania became united with Hungary, there are now Unitarian congregations at Buda-Pest and

at Hodmeis Vaserhely and Vroshaza. A special intimacy of fellowship has recently been cherished and growing between them and the Unitarians of England and America. Several American Unitarians have in recent years made special visits among the Hungarian brethren, and in return Professor John Kovacs, principal of the Kolozsvar College, was present at the Saratoga Conference in 1882, and delivered lectures during his six months sojourn in our different cities. A generous gift of $10,000 by the late Mrs. Anna Richmond, of Providence, R. I., has been for several years supporting a professor at the Kolozsvar College; and by English and American aid the translation of Channing's writings has been published and circulated widely among the people of Hungary of all sects.

10. *England*, though later than the Continent in receiving the Unitarian faith, was visited by Occhino, Socinus, and other Reformers. In 1548 the priest John Ashton was cited to Lambeth for Arian sentiments, and saved his life only by recanting. Under a similar charge occurred several martyrdoms. George Von Parris, a devout German surgeon, for denying the Trinity was burned at Smithfield in 1551, in the brief reign of Edward VI. During the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, Hammond, Lewes, Ket, Wright, and many others met a similar fate. In the reign of James I., in 1611, just as the English Common Version of the Bible was issued, the Unitarian Bartholomew Legate became the last of the Smithfield martyrs; and in 1612, at Lichfield, Edward Wightman, a Unitarian Baptist, was the last martyr burned for heresy in England. In the time of the Commonwealth John Bidle published catechisms of Unitarian doctrine, publicly preached Socinianism, and formed in London the first English Unitarian Church, — thus gaining the title of "Father of the English Unitarians." Yet under the persecution of his time he perished in prison for his faith. In 1640 the Synods of London and York deemed it worth

while to issue a special canon against Socinianism, — thus bearing testimony to its popularity and strength; and in 1652 the Racovian Catechism, which had been translated into English and actively circulated, was burned in London. To such strength and influence had Socinianism then grown during the century that in 1655 Dr. Owen writes of it: "The evil is at the door; and there is not a city or town, scarce a village, in England wherein some of this poison is not poured forth." Before the close of the seventeenth century London had houses of Unitarian worship. Milton was an Arian, as has been proved since his death. Sir Isaac Newton is now known to have written anonymously on the Unitarian side. Locke wrote a work on "The Reasonableness of Christianity," which is substantially Unitarian. The scholarly Lardner, author of "The Credibility of the Gospel History," one of the ablest defences of the Gospels ever written, held Unitarian opinions. That these views had notably invaded the Established Church is testified by Palmer in 1705 writing that there were "troops of Unitarian and Socinian writers, and not a Dissenter among them." Dr. Thomas Evelyn preached the Unitarian faith in Dublin and London.

The Act of Uniformity in 1662 expelled from the Church of England two thousand ministers, mostly Calvinistic Presbyterians. Free from dogmatic tests, many of these ministers and their followers gradually became Arminian, and ultimately Unitarian. After the passage of the Toleration Act in 1689, legalizing nonconformity, the way was opened by which the prevailing faith largely passed into Unitarianism. Half the Unitarian churches in England to-day are of this Presbyterian origin, and largely retain the Presbyterian name and form of church government.

Until 1813 the law made it blasphemy to speak against the Trinity; but a more tolerant public sentiment had long rendered the law a dead letter. Unitarianism as an organized movement was most distinctly initiated by Dr.

Theophilus Lindsey, who in 1774 resigned his charge in the Established Church and became pastor of a Unitarian Congregation in Essex Street, London. A still more prominent apostle was the noted Dr. Joseph Priestley. Born in 1733, educated a Calvinist, distinguished for his scholarship and scientific attainments, in 1775 he became pastor of a small Dissenting congregation in Suffolk and a distinguished champion of the humanitarian theology. Believing in the Bible as a divine revelation, and in the miracles as Christ's credentials of authority, while continuing to hold some tenets of Calvinism, he rejected the Trinity and vicarious atonement as unscriptural; wrote to show how these dogmas came in as later corruptions of primitive Christianity; and held that Christ himself claimed to be simply a man. His theological views, together with his more particularly obnoxious political sentiments during the exciting times of the French Revolution, brought upon him obloquy and persecution; and losing his books, manuscripts, and valuable philosophical instruments at the hands of a mob, he was virtually banished from his native land. In 1792 he removed to America, and gave courses of lectures in Philadelphia, which added fresh stimulus to the rising Unitarianism; but for his closing years he retired to the small neighboring village of Northumberland, where in 1804 he died, and where his remains lie buried.

In 1813 the Unitarians were first placed by law on an equality with other Dissenters. For some years sharp controversy continued as to the proprietary rights in certain church properties held by them, but claimed by Orthodox Dissenters. These claims were finally silenced in favor of the Unitarian occupants by the Dissenters' Chapels Act of 1844. At the present time there are reported about three hundred and fifty Unitarian churches in England, mostly Congregational in church government, and of which one fourth have been formed within the last twenty-five years.

In *Scotland* there are in the larger cities and towns about ten Unitarian churches. In that country occurred the last execution for "blasphemy against the Trinity," in the person of a young student, Thomas Aikenhead, hanged near Edinburgh in 1696. The present Unitarian church of Edinburgh, originally strictly Calvinistic, having adopted the principle of free inquiry, became Arian, and finally humanitarian, under the pastorate of Dr. Southwood Smith in 1812.

In *Ireland*, chiefly in the North, are forty Unitarian churches and a population of about ten thousand, still Presbyterians in church government. In Wales about thirty-four churches of the faith are reported; and there are several strong societies at Montreal, Toronto, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and other places in the British colonies in Canada, India, and Australia.

The English Unitarians maintain a Missionary College in Manchester, a Presbyterian College at Caermarthen which educates Unitarian and Independent ministers, and the larger unsectarian institution of Manchester New College, removed recently to London. In their interest are conducted several weekly religious papers, — "The Inquirer," "The Christian Life," "The Unitarian Herald," and "The Christian Reformer," a monthly. Their representative missionary society is the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, formed in London, May, 1825. Among the leading writers may be named, besides Priestley, Lindsey, and Belsham, early in the century, more recently, Revs. John James Tayler, Charles Beard, John Hamilton Thom, and James Martineau, — the last one of the greatest living exponents of the higher philosophy of the spirit as opposed to modern materialism. It may be truthfully added that the forward movement of English Unitarianism is outgrowing the legalism and literalism of a philosophy which narrowed its earlier faith, and is coming to a broader and deeper spirituality.

11. In *America*, free inquiry and open field of thought from the beginning have been favorable to Unitarian views, and the movement for spiritual liberty found special stimulus in the public sentiment following the Revolution. The Pilgrims, bringing to America the parting injunction of their pastor, John Robinson, that there was "more light to break forth from God's Word," organized the first Congregational churches at Plymouth, Salem, and Boston upon covenants so broad and undogmatic that these have required no change in accepting the Unitarian faith. Without doubt, the prevailing sentiment was mainly Calvinistic at the start, yet with a measure of Arminianism intermingled that grew imperceptibly, until for the last century and a half the progress of Unitarian sentiments may be distinctly traced. Dr. Gay, of Hingham, ordained in 1717, is supposed to have been the first American preacher of Unitarianism. Before the Revolution many lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, and farmers were Unitarians, according to the testimony of the elder President John Adams, himself a Unitarian; and not the laity only, but many of the clergy, prominent among whom was Mayhew, the eloquent preacher of the West Church, Boston. In 1768 the famous Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, preached a sermon prepared especially against what he deemed the heresy of the Boston ministers. In 1783, under the lead of their young minister, James Freeman, not yet then ordained, the Episcopal church of King's Chapel in Boston expunged from its "Book of Common Prayer" all reference to the Trinity and the worship of Christ, and thus became the first distinctively Unitarian church in America. Its liturgy and church organization continue substantially the same at the present time. Priestley's coming gave fresh impulse to this faith, and the writings of Lindsey and Belsham found their way hither. In a letter to Dr. Lindsey in London, Rev. James Freeman writes that there were

"many churches in which the worship was strictly Unitarian, and some of New England's most eminent clergymen openly avow that creed."

In 1801 the oldest Puritan church in America, the original church of the "Mayflower" (established at Plymouth in 1620), under the lead of its young minister James Kendall, by a large majority vote declared itself Unitarian; and with no change in its covenant, using the identical statement of faith drawn up by its Pilgrim founders, it to-day accepts the Unitarian name and fellowship. Free from restraints of dogmatic creeds and tests, the New England Congregational churches were especially hospitable to inquiry and progress. By imperceptible degrees changes of opinion came. In 1805 the Unitarian Rev. Dr. Henry Ware was made professor of divinity at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. This fact excited opposition and controversy. In 1815 a controversy between Dr. William Ellery Channing and Dr. Samuel Worcester resulted in open rupture between the Trinitarian and Unitarian Congregationalists. In 1816 the Divinity School at Cambridge was established by Unitarians. Harvard College was in their hands, and chiefly by their influence has maintained the undenominational position which it claims to hold at the present time. For ten years, from 1815 to 1825, the controversy waxed hot; lines of separation were drawn, and men and churches took sides. As the churches divided, the majority prevailing on the one hand or the other carried their name and property to the Trinitarian or Unitarian ranks. Meanwhile the seceding minorities organized anew on the one side or the other. Thus the ancient parishes, each originally co-extensive with the town, were divided; and in many New England towns the oldest church, retaining its ancient Congregational liberty, name, and usages, became and is to-day in faith and fellowship Unitarian.

II. Organization and Present Condition.

During the eventful decade just reviewed (1815–1825), Rev. William Ellery Channing (born in Newport, R. I., 7th April, 1780), then in the prime of manhood, with early ripeness of spiritual fruitage, became by eloquence of tongue and pen the conspicuous leader of the Unitarian movement. At the ordination of Jared Sparks, in 1819, as minister of the Unitarian church in Baltimore, his discourse expounding Unitarian Christianity made a profound impression far and wide. His intense dislike of sectarianism gave to his preaching a special emphasis of individualism and spiritual liberty. Never permitting himself to become a sectarian devotee, to him Unitarianism greatly owes its freedom from sectarian and dogmatic trammels. Less a controversialist than a devout practical preacher, he fearlessly yet reverently sought the truth, brought into prominence the spiritual elements of human nature, subjected religious systems to the test of the soul's best instincts and sentiments, and made it his supreme aim to kindle aspirations for holiness. His testimony was borne chiefly to the fatherhood of God and brotherhood and divine sonship of man, to the worth of human nature and blessedness of human life, to the dignity of labor and the elevation of the working classes, to spiritual freedom and the divine mission and authority of Jesus Christ. He has come to be recognized by all sects as one of the foremost of American preachers and writers, a leading champion of civil and religious freedom, of education and philanthropy, a seeker for truth, a lover of mankind, and a devoted advocate of Christianity. In April, 1880, the centenary of his birth was celebrated in London and in several of the larger cities of America, many persons of other denominations cordially uniting in the tributes of respect; and at the same time was laid the corner-stone of a beautiful

memorial church, soon afterwards completed, at his birthplace, Newport, R. I.

The division of the Church, and consequent separation, was not of Unitarian seeking. The Unitarian leaders were willing in the large fellowship of true Congregationalism and its freedom of an undogmatic faith, to maintain the unity of the Church unbroken. They would have borne their testimony to the truth as they saw it, urging all others freely and honestly to do the same. The necessity of separation was enforced by fellowship withdrawn from them, controverted opinions put forward as tests of church membership, and by charges made that rendered it impossible to stay. After the break had come, it was with no desire to build a new sect or to prolong the bitterness of controversy, it was simply to do their own dutiful part in the great vineyard, that the Unitarians went apart and worked in their own way. But now, as from the first, their attitude has never ceased to be that church unity is to be found, not in identity of opinion, but in personal freedom and in brotherly love; and they have steadily declared their readiness on this broad basis to join in fellowship with all who claim to hold the Christian faith and who prove their discipleship by consistent lives. In the exercise of freedom there have always been within the Unitarian fold varieties of individual opinion, by which we believe the treasury of Christian thought is enriched; while in the same exercise of freedom a few have gone into the Trinitarian household, and others into a position non-Christian or anti-Christian.

On the 24th of May, 1825, was formed in Boston the American Unitarian Association. The first article of its Constitution declares its purpose to be "to diffuse the knowledge and promote the interests of pure Christianity." It was incorporated in 1848, with the right to hold trust funds, and has at the present time, chiefly received by legacies, about $350,000. Without ecclesiastical authority,

it is a purely missionary organization, using annual contributions from the churches — its main resource — for publishing and distributing books and tracts, sustaining missionaries, aiding feeble churches, and planting new ones. Its operations are mainly in the home-field of America; though it has also sent missionaries to India and Japan, and has given aid in Paris, Italy, and Hungary. For forty years its activities were small, the missionary enterprise of the denomination being checked by excessive dread of the sectarian spirit, and the ample benevolent gifts of the people taking more generally the direction of education and many forms of philanthropy. But within the last twenty-five years its income has greatly increased, in certain single years exceeding the sum of $100,000, although it by no means receives or distributes all the denominational gifts for religious missionary purposes.

On the 5th of April, 1865, just as the war was closing, a convention, consisting of the pastor and two delegates from each church or parish in the Unitarian fellowship, met in the city of New York and organized a National Conference "to the end of energizing and stimulating the denomination with which they are connected to the largest exertions in the cause of Christian faith and work." Its preamble declared that "the great opportunities and demands for Christian labor and consecration at this time increase our sense of the obligations of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God and the building up of the kingdom of his Son." It is a representative body of pastors and delegates chosen and meeting biennially, purely advisory in character, for counsel and fellowship. Its meetings since 1872 have been held in September at Saratoga, N. Y., always open to the public, with steady and large increase in the numbers attending, also in interest and in practical purpose and value. By it the missionary spirit and enterprise have been

greatly stimulated, and since its formation the churches have given more for missionary purposes than in all their previous history. Within smaller and more convenient territorial districts have been formed also many local or State conferences, with more frequent meetings, which have been successful in fostering fellowship and co-operation, and a more devout and earnest religious life.

Without other ecclesiastical authority, the government of the Unitarian churches and their usages and modes of worship are purely Congregational. The rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper are recognized and observed, not as having mystical value or binding authority, but as having practical spiritual worth and influence. The denominational Year-Book for 1889 reports three hundred and eighty-nine churches, of which two hundred and fifty-three are in New England, chiefly in Massachusetts, and one hundred and twenty-eight mainly in the West; four hundred and ninety ministers, twenty-four local conferences, besides a number of other organizations of purely benevolent aim and purpose. Only one strictly denominational school of theology is maintained by the Unitarian body, — the Theological School at Meadville, Pa. The unsectarian Divinity School of Harvard University, however, has received liberal financial support from Unitarians, and among its alumni numbers many Unitarian ministers. Founded in 1816, it has at present six professors, two instructors, thirty-one students, and a library of 21,000 volumes, students having access also to the College Library with its 259,000 volumes. The Theological School at Meadville, Pa., was formed in 1844, and has four resident professors, about thirty students, and 15,000 volumes in its library.

The chief periodicals of the denomination are the "Unitarian Review," a monthly magazine, the "Christian Register," a weekly religious newspaper founded in 1821, and the "Every Other Sunday," a paper for children and

Sunday-schools, — all of these published in Boston ; also the "Unitarian," "Unity," and "Our Best Words," published at the West. The denomination is rich in its literature, especially in the direction of practical and devout religious sentiment. Its writers have produced some of the noblest and sweetest hymns in the English tongue, — conspicuous among which may be named the universal favorite in all churches, "Nearer, My God, to Thee," written by Mrs. Sarah Flower Adams, of the Unitarian church in London. The works of Dr. Channing, now widely circulated among English-speaking people all over the world, have been translated entire or in part into the Dutch and German, French, Italian, Swedish, Hungarian, Icelandic, Russian, and Japanese languages.

There may also be mentioned as leading Unitarian preachers and writers, Henry Ware (father and son), James Walker, Theodore Parker, Edmund H. Sears, Orville Dewey, Henry W. Bellows, and James Freeman Clarke, — all passed away ; and among those still living, William H. Furness, Frederic H. Hedge, Andrew P. Peabody, Edward Everett Hale, Charles C. Everett, Minot J. Savage, and Robert Collyer.

Unitarian writers are also largely represented in the realm of history, poetry, and general literature in America as in England. It is believed that Jefferson and Franklin, as well as both Presidents Adams, were Unitarians. Among conspicuous Unitarian writers may be named the poets Bryant, Longfellow, Holmes, and Lowell, the historians Bancroft, Prescott, and Motley, and the venerated sage and seer Ralph Waldo Emerson.

It may be added that Unitarian sentiments are held substantially by "Universalists," by many of the "Christians," by "Hicksite Quakers," and by "Progressive Friends."

III. Doctrinal Views.

In seeking the present form of the Unitarian faith, it is needless to recount the speculations of earlier times. The tenets of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata and Arius, also of Servetus and the Socini, in their special forms sharing the crudities of contemporaneous thought, have largely passed away. However they may interest us, they are not to be quoted as having any authority; they are simply in the line of historical progress, agreeing only in the single fundamental thought that God is one, and Jesus Christ a created and subordinate being. Unitarianism is characteristically not a fixed, dogmatic statement, but a forward movement of ever-enlarging faith. It welcomes inquiry, progress, and diversity of individual thought in the unity of spiritual fellowship; for though truth is eternal, man's apprehension of it grows with his growth. With faith in the unity of God as its key-note, it asserts the unity of all truth in nature, history, experience, and the Bible; the unity of the Church as based on character, not on dogma; and the unity of spiritual life in this world and the next. Its leading principles are, first, the freedom of every individual soul to seek the highest truth and obey it; and second, that character is the test of Christian discipleship. Unitarians declare life, not dogma, to be the essence of Christianity. They deem Christianity to be essentially a reasonable religion, according with the truths of nature, instructing reason, and appealing to it as interpreter and judge. They hold it to be a progressive religion; that its principles, like the axioms of mathematics, are eternally true, but that its germs unfold with the increasing intelligence of mankind. Right belief they deem important for right living; and they emphasize the value of righteousness as establishing the kingdom of God on earth, and as alone fitting the soul for his kingdom above. They refuse

to formulate their belief in fixed creeds of ecclesiastical and exclusive authority, because these never settle open questions, but only start fresh controversy; because they limit inquiry and hinder progress; and because they make dogma instead of character, and opinion instead of spiritual purpose, the bases and tests of fellowship.

Yet while refusing to stereotype any authoritative creed-statement, there is an unwritten consensus of faith in which Unitarians substantially agree. They believe in the one God as the Creator of the Universe and Father of all souls, — a Father who wills man's welfare, desiring that not even the least shall perish; the Fatherly Friend in all worlds, who does not wait for forgiveness and favor to be purchased, but freely pours forth blessing on all who will accept it; Father of the sinner as of the saint, seeking every wanderer with his pursuing love, and punishing the erring, not for his own pleasure, but for their profit, that they may become partakers of his holiness. Unitarians believe in man as naturally neither saint nor sinner; that his nature is not fallen, corrupt, and ruined, but undeveloped and incomplete; that he inherits tendencies to good as well as to evil, and that he is sinful only as he knowingly and wilfully does wrong; that he needs regeneration, the unfolding and renewal of his spiritual nature, which he experiences through obedience to the truth, under that divine influence which is called the Holy Spirit; that as a child of the Infinite, allied to the Supreme Goodness by ties that cannot be sundered, having in him a spark of divinity that renders his ultimate redemption an inextinguishable hope, he yet needs to be taught and inspired of God; but with the aid of the divine grace, which is his birthright, he is able to climb the celestial summits. Unitarians believe in Jesus Christ as the four Evangelists describe him, — as Son of God and Son of man. They care little for metaphysical speculations about the mystery of his nature, but emphasize his word and life as

a practical help for human salvation. They hold that he is our Saviour as he becomes to us the Light of the World, the Fountain of Living Water, and the Bread of Life, — our Saviour by illustrating the eternal principles of right, inspiring his followers to holiness, and imparting to them the true life more abundantly; our Saviour so far as he leads and helps us to be large-hearted, truth-seeking, pure, loving, and devout; that he came into the world to bear testimony to the truth, and was here not to be ministered unto, but to minister; and that he proved himself to be humanity's rightful lord and leader by his divine helpfulness. In short, while not accepting the dogma of his divine personality as deity, they believe in his divinity as that divine quality of character that would render all souls sons and daughters of God. Under the influence of elevated views of man's spiritual nature, affirming his innate power of apprehending and obeying religious truth, Unitarianism in declaring the humanity of Jesus does not bring the Christ down, but lifts humanity up. It asserts that Jesus was purely human, only to show that human nature itself is, in the phrase of Athanasius, *homo-ousion*, — of the same substance with God; and that Jesus is the best expression of that divine humanity which is the birthright and God-ordained destiny of all souls. While they are jealous of ecclesiastical authority or dictation, and perpetually refuse to limit their fellowship by formula, the Unitarians have in public assembly of the American Unitarian Association, and in representative meetings of their National and Local Conferences, repeatedly reaffirmed their attitude of Christian discipleship, and declared that they hold themselves to be a body of believers upon the Christian foundation and within the Christian Church. They deem the mind of Christ to be the best index of Christianity. For the sources of Unitarian thought, therefore, they refer to Unitarian literature and life, especially to the Scriptures of the New Testament, among which they

give precedence to the Four Gospels, as embodying the word and life of Jesus Christ; and believing in the universal inspiration of the Church of the living God, their ultimate authority is reason, enlightened and guided by the Holy Spirit.

UNITARIANISM IN AMERICA

A History of its Origin and Development

By George Willis Cooke, Member of the American Historical Association, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Academy of Political and Social Science, etc.

Size, 5 3-4 x 8 1-2 inches; pages, 463; 21 full-page illustrations; price, $2.00 *net;* postage, 14 cents additional.

THE purpose of this work is to furnish a complete, impartial, and candid record of the origin and growth of American Unitarianism, with accounts of its organization, its progress, and its relation to all present-day movements for social and religious betterment, all of which is presented in "the true spirit of the historical method, without reference to local interests and without sectional preferences." Controversial treatment is thus happily avoided. The author has made long and thorough examination of original manuscripts and journals, as well as many magazines, newspapers, and printed reports of various kinds. The result has been to bring together into a single octavo volume of 475 pages much valuable material, heretofore to be found only in widely scattered sources, and a large array of facts not obtainable elsewhere. The volume is fully indexed, making all references to any one topic readily accessible. The book thus becomes a valuable reference work as well as a thoroughly readable and instructive history. It has been written with special reference to its helpfulness in explaining the Unitarian attitude and temper.

The opening chapters begin with the English Sources of American Unitarianism, followed by chapters upon the Liberal Side of Puritanism, the Growth of Democracy in the Churches, and the Silent Advance of Liberalism. Then follows the organization of the American Unitarian Association, and its various activities as the national executive organization of our churches are fully set forth. Chapters are given to the accounts of the Sunday School Society, the Boston Fraternity of Churches, the Women's National Alliance, the Post-office Mission, and other enterprises which mark the spirit of Unitarian endeavor. The relation of Unitarianism to philanthropy, reforms, education, and literature, receive special chapters of unusual interest. The closing chapter treats of the future of Unitarianism.

In addition to the text itself are twenty-one full-page half-tone portrait illustrations of prominent Unitarian leaders, including a frontispiece of Channing. These grouped pictures add not a little to the general interest of the volume.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION
25 Beacon Street, Boston

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CO-OPERATION FOR HOLINESS.

When the village fire-bell rings, the alarm which it sounds brings every citizen to a full consciousness of a common danger, and an instantaneous effort is made by all to put out the fire. No one stops to consider whether the man whose house is in flames is a Jew or a Gentile, rich or poor, saint or sinner, believer or unbeliever. In that moment the instinct of humanity asserts itself; and brushing aside all the superficial distinctions and all the ecclesiastical prejudices which rule our daily routine of life, it marshals every person in one great effort to suppress a common danger. In that critical hour men work vigorously side by side as *men*, no one stopping to think whether his neighbor has been sprinkled or immersed, whether he believes in the deity or only the humanity of Jesus. And if a Baptist or a Unitarian refused to work with another man because that neighbor believed differently about predestination or probation, he would cover himself with the contempt of the community.

When the village school-bell rings out from all the homes round about, the children start with a common purpose towards a common temple of learning. The mother's darling and the father's pride go forth from squalid hut and elegant mansion. From modest houses made beautiful by the refined and noble character of their occupants, from elegant residences made desolate by devouring greed or destructive sensuality, from homes full of prayerfulness, and from homes full of frivolity, — the children gather in the school-house to sit side by side, to study

the same books and to drink the water of life from the same fountain. This clarion call of Wisdom, rung by the school-bell, is not addressed to Methodist or Lutheran, neither to believers nor even Christians is it sent; but to the sons and daughters of man. It is the imperial summons of that *truth* which is as catholic as Nature and as unsectarian as God. Moreover, it is proclaimed with equal urgency and directness to every child; and in that schoolroom we have an anticipation of the kingdom of heaven. The beliefs of each tiny infant are respected, no child being allowed to illtreat his neighbor on account of differences of religious faith; while all children sit there side by side in the sacred fellowship of education, studying and reciting together as members of one family, not indifferent to religion, and not destitute of religious convictions, yet the right of each soul to its own private opinion is by all held sacred. Among these children in the schoolroom the Dayspring from on high begins to dawn towards a universal recognition of the unity of humanity. They are learning to know each other, not as Irish or German, not as Trinitarian or Unitarian, but as *human beings*. Also, they are learning how unsectarian Truth and Goodness are; and I believe that if Jesus of Nazareth walked among men to-day, he would straightway go into the schoolroom and say: "Here more than anywhere else is my Gospel lived."

But when the schoolhouses are closed; when the peace of the Sabbath morning has spread its hush over the country-side, and the village church-bells ring, — then what a remarkable change occurs! The two neighbors who worked side by side the night before to put out the fire hurry off to churches which refuse to unite in a common effort to put out the fires of intemperance which are destroying our youth; while children who study and play together on week-days are told by their respective pastors that their companions are surely on the broad

road to perdition. These church-bells produce in men and women the feeling that they are first of all Baptists or Methodists or Lutherans, — so that on Sunday morning artificial and irritating lines of division are tightly drawn; men dress themselves in garments of exclusiveness never worn on the market or in the social circle; and the boy whose loved seat-mate at school the year round is a Jew, carries under his arm a Sunday-school lesson-paper which declares that all such unbelieving Jews shall be forever damned. The fire-bell called aloud: "Come, every man, and subdue the common danger;" the school-bell rang out: "Come, every child, to the temple of wisdom, and grow strong and noble;" but the church-bells call: "You who are immersed, come hither and pray by yourselves; you who believe in election, worship here; you who belong to the one, true, apostolic, Episcopal Church, gather here." And in the reverberation of each church-bell we hear the sad undertone of the damnatory clauses of the creeds: "Those who do not so believe, God will turn into hell."

The fire-bell arouses men to the sense of a common humanity, and the response to its alarm is instant and universal. But is a man on fire with a passion for drink, or blinded by ignorance, less worthy a united effort on the part of the whole community than a burning dwelling? Is there any reason why men should be more exclusive and less inclined to co-operate with each other in their work for the suppression of the moral and spiritual dangers which menace society than in their work against fire and flood and epidemic? The secular school-bell proclaims the unity of humanity and shows forth the Fatherhood of God; but the church-bells make people forget their identity of origin and destiny, by gathering them within high-fenced folds into which no person can enter except upon profession of faith in certain theological notions. *But is there any reason why we should hold*

dogma so dear and manhood so cheap? Is there any reason why religion should break up that fellowship, founded upon humanity, which exists in commerce and society? Is there any reason why men who are good enough to associate with in every other relation should be called unworthy of church membership? Is there any reason why men who co-operate in behalf of the interests of education should refuse to co-operate for holiness? Is there any reason why you should demand belief in the Trinity at the church-door of those whom you gladly welcome at your fireside? Is there any reason why that manhood which entitles a person to membership in your secret order or social club should be spurned as insufficient by our religious organizations? Is there any reason why, when the church-bell rings, you should turn away in abhorrence from your Unitarian or Jewish friend, with whom you have loved to converse, denying him religious fellowship and church communion, and assenting when the minister declares that all such shall be lost everlastingly?

I would not for a moment contend that separate churches are an evil, or that numerous forms of religious service are necessarily harmful. Every community is composed of various classes, who have different inheritances, tastes, and capacities. Some are more impressed by a stately and gorgeous ritual. Some worship best amidst more quiet surroundings and simpler forms. Emotional temperaments crave a religious service full of fervor, unction, and picturesque preaching; while more intellectual persons, who would be repelled by such sentimentalism, are best served by an administration of religion which is more rational and educational. Differences of constitution and training necessitate different religious organizations. But the existence of different churches need not mean bigotry and intolerance, nor is it necessary that diversities of belief should lead different churches to work against each other.

The church-bells so often sound the signal of division and strife because each church gathers people into a company which is more or less intolerant towards all other sects. But church-bells may ring in harmony as well as in dissonance, and each church may mark simply *a different post of duty* rather than what is claimed as the *one portal to heaven*. The trouble is not, primarily, that there are too many churches, or even that they differ so widely in policy and faith, but that they are organized upon a false basis, and are led by that very fact to work against each other. No traveller into a far country on a sultry day ever complains that there are too many shade-trees by the roadside; but if a guardian stood under each tree, throwing stones towards the next tree and refusing to let any one enjoy the shade of his own tree unless he professed a certain belief, it is probable that a great many travellers would take to the middle of the road and try their chances there, — just as many good men have left the churches and taken to the common highway of humanity.

Our chief complaint, then, is not that there are too many churches, — though there are undoubtedly too many sects represented in our towns and villages, — but that churches are not properly organized; that religious fellowship is so interpreted and exercised that it destroys the unity of humanity, while it wastes the forces which ought to be making for righteousness. Our co-operation for holiness is not sufficiently humane and catholic; it keeps too close to superficial distinctions, while it follows a policy which is radically wrong, because it makes opinion more important than life. When I look into the faces of the men and women who crowd the streets in the neighborhood of a Catholic church early Sunday morning, I always say to myself, but in no self-righteous spirit: "I am sure that I could not enjoy the form of worship which appeals most powerfully to these persons, and I am glad that a church exists which can do them good, even if it has

no message for me." When I enter a ritualistic Episcopal church and note the dignity and order of the service, the propriety of attitude and the heartiness of ceremony; when I recognize that the boy choir, processional, and altar furniture, though meaningless, if not repulsive to me, do undoubtedly minister to the devout, — I feel glad that there is a church which truly benefits certain temperaments, and ministers unto those whom I could not reach. Therefore I am glad to see enough churches to accommodate these distinct classes which stand at different levels of intellectual attainment and æsthetic cultivation, and which are only accessible by different instrumentalities. What I find to *condemn* is both the assumption of each that it alone is the *true church*, and also the consequent unwillingness of each to co-operate with others in a common cause against vice, ignorance, and injustice. I have no fault to find with any man who strives to worship according to his peculiar tastes and convictions; but when he rules out as heretical all forms of worship besides his own, and refuses to co-operate in humane and educational enterprises with those who worship in some other way, then, speaking in behalf of the universal Brotherhood of Man, I condemn his course as harmful and retrogressive.

Now what makes the sound of the church-bell a signal of division, and what leads to so much strife in religion, is the fact that dogma has been given undue importance and made the basis of church fellowship. Religion has wrongfully associated people in loyalty to an opinion, whereas it ought to have associated them in co-operation for holiness. *A false theory of religious organization* has destroyed the peace of society and the brotherhood of humanity. A church has but one true purpose or reason for existence, — *to unite men in a common effort to bring in the kingdom of God.* The sole mission of the church is to make the will of God

prevail among men, to associate them for worship, edification, and helpfulness. And every earnest man and woman ought to be included there and set at work. The true basis of worship is not identity of doctrine, but sensitiveness of feeling to beauty, mystery, and sublimity. The true bond of union for spiritual cultivation is not belief, but aspiration. The true spirit of helpfulness springs from the heart rather than the head. The foundation on which to build a church is not doctrine, but desire for holiness. The motive to which we ought to appeal is not love of heaven, but sympathy for man. The interrogation which should meet every man at the church-door ought to be. not, "What do you believe?" but, "What are you willing to do?" The arms of the church ought to be stretched out, not simply to welcome those who are willing to subscribe its confession, but rather to welcome those who are anxious to minister to every one in need. The simple demand of Jesus was this: "Follow me;" that is, "Go about doing good."

It is a misfortune that our churches make it unnecessarily difficult for people to be religious in any public way or by any organic methods. When I visit our villages, where the problems of religion lie before us in their native simplicity, I am often reminded of the words of Jesus, spoken to the unworthy Pharisees of his time: "Ye load men with burdens grievous to be borne." The ritualists of that day made it very difficult for men to be religious; there were so many petty ceremonies to be observed, so many trivial commandments to keep, so many artificial forms to obey. The native religious disposition of man was not taken for granted, and no confidence was placed in human nature. Nothing was left for man to do in the freedom of his will or the spontaneity of his love, but everything was mapped out for him. To live religiously, as religion was understood, became a most tiresome and burdensome formality. And religion was made hard, not

because such great things were demanded of man, but because so many little things were required of him.

I find to-day in many respects a similar condition of affairs. The village church does not make religion too hard by demanding too much, but by demanding the wrong things. The church cannot lift up too high an ideal of life. The higher its standard, the more attractive its message. It cannot demand too much philanthropy: the more it appeals to human sympathy, the quicker will be the response. It cannot create too many activities for self-help: the more it gives men to do, the faster it will grow. Religious organizations, like all others, *must grow by working.* The church does not and cannot make religion too difficult in this way. What I find is this: In every village into which I go, the ministers make it impossible for a very large number of our best people to join the church. What do I mean? I mean that everywhere a large proportion of the best men and women are kept away from its service and activities because the church insists that they must subscribe its creed before being admitted as members; it insists on forcing a notion upon men against their reason, instead of marshalling them in co-operation for holiness. Now, man is naturally religious; he seeks association, he wants to do something for his fellow-men, he loves activity and comradeship; but many cannot comply with the conditions of membership laid down by the church, and as a result, they remain outside as unchurched.

Go, if you will, into almost any town, and look over the list of upright, intelligent, influential men, — the men whose word is as good as their bond, who are sought as trustees and guardians, who are foremost in public spirit and benevolent enterprises. You will find that a very large proportion of them are not church-members. Many do not go to church at all; some attend out of respect for their families; while others subscribe their money, but seldom

attend any religious service except a funeral. The fact as plain as day to the unprejudiced mind is this: that the very men who for character and intelligence have a first-class standing, and who, in view of ability and influence, ought to be rulers in Israel and pillars in the house of God, — these persons not only have comparatively little to do with church affairs, but not seldom look with some contempt upon religion as organized in their midst. There are good and intelligent people in all the churches; but the striking fact is that so many of the good and intelligent members of almost every community are indifferent to the churches, or are only nominally attached to them. Now these unchurched people as a rule are not indifferent to the moral interests of society, nor are they unwilling to labor for high aims. If you should ask them why they are not church-members, nine out of ten would reply: "I believe in religion and in churches, but I cannot subscribe the creed. I would go to church oftener, but when I do go, I am told that those who believe as I do will be damned, — which is not pleasant or inspiring information, and so I conclude that it is best to stay at home."

This is what I call making it hard for men to be religious. When the church insists that a man must accept certain dogmas or remain without and be classed with blasphemers, the way of salvation is made unnecessarily difficult. Ask these persons to contribute money for a lecture course, and they respond generously. Open a subscription for yellow-fever sufferers, and their names head the list. Call on them to care for the sick, and their service is unremitting. Give them any task that looks towards good morals or the common welfare, and it is done. Every one of them would be in the church in less than ten days if they were simply asked to lend a helping hand and try to live a better life. But they say: "I cannot believe this and that dogma, and so I must keep out." The church does not allow them to be religious upon the broad

basis of a desire for holiness, and so they wander about unorganized and without a shepherd. This is the condition of thousands of men in our nation to-day who are able and noble citizens, and this is a condition which is unfortunate both for them and also for the community in general. Therefore I contend that there must be something wrong with a method of religious organization which by its practical workings excludes so many good and efficient persons from its fellowship, and which also makes it so difficult for many thinking men to co-operate heartily with the existing churches.

And the over-emphasis of dogma is making it every day more difficult for men to be church-members, not only because the growing light of the time reveals more and more imperfections in the creeds, but because men trained in the scientific spirit are more and more disinclined to commit themselves to fixed opinions respecting speculative subjects. As long as churches stand primarily for a theological creed, church-bells will ring in dissonance rather than in harmony, for opinions must differ; *and people will be kept apart by any policy which places doctrinal conformity above goodness of heart.* And so long as churches condition their fellowship upon creed-subscription, many will find it impossible to become church-members, and a large proportion of the community most zealous for holiness will be ruled out simply because the modern intellect will rather have *freedom without association, than a religious fellowship conditioned upon servitude to Calvin or any other dogmatist.* But this alienation is both unfortunate and absolutely needless. There is no valid reason why we should not have both *religious co-operation* and *intellectual freedom* united in one administration of spiritual affairs.

From the fact that religious fellowship has been so long conditioned upon belief, many are inclined to see nothing but an instigation of the Evil One in this proposition

to make a spiritual purpose rather than a speculative dogma the basis of church organization. Some exclaim: "Shall we throw aside our faith in God and immortality, and let men believe just as they please, while we write over our altars: 'This church stands for nothing in particular'?" But no such result would follow from the policy proposed. What holds men to faith in God and immortality is not the *church creed*, but the *experience of life*. Writing your dogma in the church-book will no more compel men to believe in God than writing a good maxim in your child's copy-book will make him moral. Let us have some confidence in human nature and the integrity of the universe.

The primary truths of religion need no such help as that given by church creeds. The banker does not make his new clerk promise under oath to believe the multiplication-table. Mathematical truths need no such fictitious supports. And is not the truth of religion as able to stand alone as the multiplication-table? We may take it for granted that any company of people gathered together to cultivate holiness will believe in God; and the best way to make them believe more in God is to set them at work in love for humanity. Moreover, an organization based upon such a spiritual purpose will not have to spend much time in defining and declaring its purpose. That will be plain enough from its spirit and work. No man has to write a description of his character on his hat-band. His neighbors know all about that. There are those who are forever asking that some statement of faith be adopted, that the world may know what they represent. But no such statement of belief can adequately describe essential religion or vital piety. If the minister has a real gospel, and the church any consecration, the purpose of that religious movement will be understood well enough. *Publish what you are by what you do!* The minister who is so over-anxious to have a little creedlet to define

his position, does not fully understand the word of God. *The Alps are in need of no definition.* Have some Alpine convictions. They will lead you to a work which will define your faith as no feeble words can. Shed love as the sun sheds light, and you will need no graven tablets to inform the world that you represent the living God. When a company of earnest people associate themselves and begin to do something for humanity, their position and purpose are plain enough. When we drop the creed as a condition of fellowship, and make a spiritual purpose, expressed in the spirit of one's life rather than in words, the basis of organization, we do not thereby drop belief in God, for that is rooted in each soul. The course proposed is simply changing the policy of the church from the defence of a dogma to the cultivation of holiness, in order that every earnest man may unite in its duties and felicities.

Others charge that a creedless church will lead to intellectual confusion in matters of religion, — that is, if we throw away dogma and make a desire for holiness the condition of membership, there will be no longer any clear thinking or definite ideas. Here again the influence of what is simply written down is vastly over-estimated. Calvinism did stand for vast intellectual vigor as long as it was carried in the soul as a living system of thought. Its intellectual power then lay, however, in the fact that it was a vital culture rather than a written creed. But in recent times Calvinistic confessions have led to mistiness of thought, because in trying to harmonize them with modern culture men have been obliged to resort to the vague and the ambiguous. If you want a man to reach clearness and vigor of thought, do not set him to defend a dogma, where he must cultivate special pleading and resort to stultifying apologetics, but turn him towards the discovery of truth, and inspire him with a supreme desire for *reality*. The very clearest thinking

to-day is done by scientists, whose chief ambition is to *outgrow* old opinions. The only way to insure intellectual strength and clearness in the pulpit is to put there the best-cultivated men to be found, give them freedom to grow, and demand of them the best that they can do, regardless of traditional opinions. The foundation of intellectual vigor is sincerity and earnestness, and a church full of the love of liberty and the spirit of humanity will out-rank all others in clearness of thought.

Our conclusion then is that the only true basis for religious organization is a spiritual purpose. Religion will take on new vigor and win unexpected victories just as soon as it aims first of all to associate men in co-operation for holiness rather than for the maintenance of a dogma. The church ought to welcome to its fellowship every person who wants to be a better child of God and who desires to make others better. Goodness is a great deal more important than mere opinion; and the church ought to be an organic expression of this truth.

I. This is the *most practical basis*. It is the only basis in harmony with the modern spirit and conducive to the unity of humanity. As long as you condition fellowship upon any dogma, so long you will necessarily exclude a large number of persons who are most truly religious and who are best able to serve the church. Two facts are as clear as day: (1) equally good people cannot believe alike; (2) every man anxious to bring in the kingdom of God ought to be in the church: and the only way to include all those who are willing to work for righteousness is to make our basis a purpose rather than a dogma. Principal Tulloch wisely wrote: "Unity can never come from dogma, as our forefathers unhappily imagined. Dogma splits rather than unites, from its very nature." And the only remedy for that appalling religious destitution which afflicts our towns and villages must be found in a *radical reorganization* of the church on just this line. No fantastic device for

carrying the Gospel to the masses; no new ritual or strange ceremonial; no revised business policy; no unctuous sensationalism or theatrical pulpit performances, — none of these things will make religion a supreme power, where now it merely drags out a miserable existence by the aid of oyster-suppers and unprofitable fairs. Neither will any superficial restatement of the creed work a cure. To go to the root of the difficulty, we must give the church a *new constitution and policy*. We must create an administration of religion as wide as the moral and humane needs of humanity, and make the church a place where every right-minded person will find it easy to co-operate for holiness. And there is still another important consideration in this connection: Nothing will do away with that subdivision of forces and waste of energy brought about by the over-emphasis of dogma, which splits every community into numerous churches, each too weak to do anything but barely live and support a feeble preacher, — nothing will remedy this religious destitution of our villages but a new policy which will mass the army of the Lord together for works of righteousness rather than for the defence of opinions. We need one or two churches where there are now six or eight, in order that religion may have some organic vigor, and be represented by a man of commanding ability and exalted character. And when the church takes this stand and asks men to engage, in a large spirit, in something really worth doing, there will be a re-birth of Christianity which in grandeur of results will far surpass the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

II. This is the *most efficient policy*. We need a method of religious organization which will call forth the quickest response and take the deepest hold of the largest number of people. A church based upon a creed necessarily addresses the intellect first of all, in order to win its assent rather than to quicken its activities. But even when that assent is gained, the man may not be moved to any heroic con-

duct, or even endowed with any valuable information. If, however, a church stands primarily for holiness, and appeals to pity and sympathy and aspiration, then its plea will touch the springs of action. A call for *helpers* reaches farther and penetrates deeper than a call for *believers;* and that church will touch men with largest inspiration which organizes men for helpfulness.

III. This is the *most spiritual position.* A church ought to be a mint coining human life into character, rather than opinion. It is more spiritual to work for holiness of life than for uniformity of belief. It is more spiritual to associate two men together to help a third out of sorrow or vice than simply to get two men together to recite a creed. It is more spiritual to bring all earnest-minded men together in one common effort for higher manhood than to condition our fellowship upon a dogma which will rule out half the community. I have not a word to say in this place against belief in the triune nature of the Godhead or the supernatural character of Jesus, any more than I have against the nebular hypothesis, which is as much a part of vital piety as many of the so-called essentials of belief, while I place a high value upon positive convictions; but I hold that a religious organization which unites the very last man to be reached in an effort to wipe away tears and sow gladness, is engaged in a more spiritual mission than one which stands primarily for belief in the Westminster Confession.

Religious association — fellowship in spiritual things for humane ends, co-operation for holiness — is one of the commanding necessities of our human nature and one of the imperative needs of society. Every man owes this much to himself, — that he avail himself of every educational agency. And there is a refinement of spirit, a quickness of feeling, a breadth of sympathy, a wealth of motive power, which come to us only as we commune and labor together. Every man owes this much to humanity, — that he give himself

heartily to the universal interests of society. And there are evils which can be overcome only as men work together for their suppression. There are felicities which can be enjoyed only as men are united in common hopes and aspirations. We need to draw continually upon the communal life which lies stored up in a living religious organization, while we need to grow by contributing our love and hope to the common reservoir of social forces. We have moments of depression and weakness when we need the uplift and tonic which are imparted by contact with a company of fellow-men bowed in worship and engaged in philanthropy. We have seasons of joy and exhilaration when it is our duty to contribute by active co-operation to the fund of sympathy and reverence which is needed to operate the social organism. No man is so safe and no man is so happy as he who is at work in some corporate capacity for the higher life of humanity. Every person is under solemn obligation to associate himself with others for religious fellowship. And just because religious fellowship is so divine and so necessary, and just because the need of united efforts for holiness is so great, we plead that religious fellowship and organization be disassociated from dogma and placed upon a more humane and spiritual basis, and we join with Max Müller in the hope, — "I conceive a *templum serenum* where shall meet in that love of truth, which at bottom is but one of the forms of love of God, all men of upright heart and pure will."

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BY

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RELIGION AND LIFE.

[The following essay was prepared for a meeting of the Norfolk Unitarian Conference, and afterward read at a meeting of the Unitarian Club in Boston.

The writer had not before taken any part in the treatment of religious subjects; but being impressed with the necessity of bringing the functions of the preacher more into line with the necessary work which must be done so long as man dwells in the body which he occupies while upon the earth, so that it may be sustained, he ventured to hold up the layman's mirror for the clergyman to look upon, in order that the true purpose of the material work which men must do might be more justly comprehended.]

The separation of matters pertaining to religion in a technical sense from the life which men must of necessity lead has, I think, a great deal to do with the waning interest in the religious, or the irreligious creeds as some of them may more rightly be named. It may also account for the lesser number interested in the organization of churches and parishes. The aspect of life to the busy student of affairs, who is also occupied in the daily work of business, is one of profound interest to him who is capable of looking a little below the surface and comprehending the true function of himself and of his associates. When I was called upon a year or two ago to address the alumni of Andover Theological Seminary,[1] I chose for my

[1] When first dictating this memorandum I made a singular slip by using the words "Andover Theological *Cemetery*." Perhaps I might have let "cemetery" stand except for the vigorous, active, and good work which is now being done there by Prof. Egbert Smyth and his associates.

subject the intimate relations of ethical and economic science; and, as I desired to make a good appearance before the graduates, I asked Dr. William Everett to give me a Latin phrase by which I might convey in sonorous words the idea that unless the human body were well nourished and cared for there could be no harmonious development of the human soul or spirit. He instantly replied, "Non est animus cui non *est* corpus." Has a man a soul whose body does not eat? Not here, certainly, — perhaps somewhere else. The sound mind, the true spirit, and the well-nourished body are but three phases of the same life, each the complement of the other. As Dr. Reuen Thomas said at the opening of our Union the other day, quoting from another, "'He who treats of food treats of morality also.'" If I and other men like me did not preach the potato gospel, on what fulcrum would you rest the lever of your spiritual gospel?

Now, then, according to the old Orthodox creed, the world, the flesh, and the devil are held to be absolutely synonymous. Therefore, the business man who is occupied in the world with the concerns of the flesh, and who really knows what his function is, rejects the whole creed without any hesitation. He does not stop to reason or to determine in what way the world and the flesh may become of the devil. He simply says: "That man does not know what he is talking about. I won't listen to that sort of thing any more." And he stays away from meeting, as I should do if I could only listen to the ordinary treatment of the subject of religion as practised by most of the Protestant clergy. The Catholic symbolism would be much more gracious to me. Is it just or expedient that men should be repelled from thinking about the true aspect of religion and life by false doctrine? Religion, in a true sense, and life can no more be separated than the soul can be separated from the body, except by physical death. Is it not important that this very foun'ation, this

fact of existence itself, should become a part of the common knowledge and thought of every-day men and women?

I think the common absolute misconception of the real material work of the world and the separation of the functions of religion from the functions of life grow out of the old dead creeds. I suppose everybody has read "John Ward" and "Robert Elsmere;" and they may have been subjected to the same intellectual difficulty to which I have been subjected, — namely, I have found it utterly impossible to put myself in the place either of John Ward and his wife or of Mrs. Elsmere and her husband. I cannot conceive that the old dogma or necessity for a formulated belief should attain such complete control over any well-trained or well-developed human intellect at the present time. My imagination fails to grasp the sense of importance attached to matters of belief like those with which the two men struggled. In order to find out how such men could exist, it occurred to me to find out how children or young people might be educated, even in our day, so as to bring them into such a dreadful condition of mind.

I accordingly started a day or two since on a short walk to the headquarters of the various denominations. I first went to the Episcopal counter in the Old Corner Bookstore, and asked if they had a creed to sell, to which the reply was made: "Yes; here it is. The price is two cents." I bought it and went on to the Congregational building, where I asked a young man if there was such a thing as an Orthodox creed. He said he believed they had one; and he went to the back part of the store, hunted about for a while, then called another young man to help him find the creed. I thought this a good sign, — that it took two men to find one copy of the Orthodox creed in the principal Orthodox bookstore. I bought that one for two cents. He then informed me that the Unitarian build-

ing was on the next corner, and that I might perhaps find a Unitarian creed there. On application I was given a copy of James Freeman Clarke's pamphlet called "Why am I a Unitarian?" I then went down to the Tremont Temple, and was from there directed to the headquarters of the Baptist denomination on Washington Street. The Baptist creed cost me five cents. Then I went back to the Methodist book concern in Bromfield Street, where the Methodist creed was sold to me for two cents; and lastly, I went to the Universalist bookstore, where they presented me a simple and excellent creed printed on a card, in three articles, without any charge. Since then I have secured a Presbyterian creed for ten cents. It therefore appears that the price of a creed ranges from nothing up to ten cents; and I find the value to be in inverse proportion to the price. I particularly like Article III. of the Universalist creed: "We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected, and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order and practice good works; for these things are good and profitable unto men." With James Freeman Clarke's creed you are doubtless very familiar. But now we come to what I cannot help calling, without intending any want of respect, *the antique and horrible*. If children are brought up on spiritual food of the sort contained in these so-called religious manuals, "John Ward" and "Robert Elsmere" are not so difficult of comprehension. I will make a few extracts without identifying the different creeds, in order to bring out the whole horror of the thing in the most conspicuous way: —

1. *Q.* — What is the inward and spiritual grace?

A. — A death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness: for, being by nature born in sin, *and the children of wrath*, we are hereby made the children of grace.

2. We believe in the resurrection of the dead, and in a final judgment, the issues of which are *everlasting punishment* and everlasting life.

3. We believe that man was created in holiness under the law of his Maker; but by voluntary transgression he fell from that holy and happy state, *in consequence of which all mankind are now sinners, not by constraint, but by choice*, being by nature utterly void of that holiness required by the law of God, positively inclined to evil, and therefore under just condemnation to *eternal ruin*, without defence or excuse.

4. Of original or birth sin. Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly teach); but it is the corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, *and is of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually.*

5. By the decree of God for the manifestation of his glory some men are predestined unto everlasting life and others *are foreordained to everlasting death* . . . . The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he concedeth or withdraweth mercy, as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, *to pass by and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath, for their sin, to the grace of his glorious justice.*

Amid the lurid glare of these unholy flames of hell a faint light still burns upon the altar to the unknown God; and Saint Paul may speak to the heathen to-day, as he did to the heathen of old, "Whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."

The creed in which these last awful dogmas are to be found cost ten cents. Perhaps these extracts are more familiar to the clergy than to the laity. I confess that, although I have of course been perfectly familiar with the existence of these conceptions which admit the possibility of righteousness to man only at the cost of imagining Satan to have become the Supreme God, yet, when I find that young men and young women can now actually buy the books containing such pagan conceptions of God, I am almost inclined to wish that there were a power in society like that arrogated to himself by the Pope, so that

these fearful causes of infidelity might be put in the Index Expurgatorius, and forbidden to those whose minds may be depraved or whose hearts may be saddened by them.

These are examples of what is called religious teaching from the creeds, catechisms, or manuals of the five denominations of what are called Protestant Christians, who outnumber all others in this country, even including the Catholics, and who outnumber all Protestants among that part of the Christian population of the world. Now, if this antique and horrible doctrine of original sin and eternal damnation is incorporated in the manuals and catechisms used in what is called the religious teaching of children and of young men and young women, — if such declarations of necessary belief are furnished to clergymen to be used in preparing their sermons, — then one cannot wonder very much at the somewhat irreverent title of the only one of Ingersoll's pamphlets that I have ever read, "An Honest God the Noblest Work of Man." Nor can one wonder that Islam secures a thousand converts from gross Paganism to one secured by a Protestant missionary.

If, on the other hand, — what I believe to be the truth, — these formulæ are simply a repetition of dead, exhausted superstitions, reprinted because men dare not break with old habits and customs, their continued publication and sale by the accredited agencies of their denominations imply such intellectual dishonesty on the part of their leaders as to deprive their representative preachers of any great influence. The clergymen who tolerate the use, but do not believe these creeds, may be most excellent, kindly, and benevolent pastors, an aid and a comfort to their congregations, but can they be leaders of religious thought? It seems to me impossible. Do they not really attain influence only in proportion to their freedom from the influence of these dogmas?

Objection is made to the introduction of religious teach-

ing in the public schools, and a vehement controversy is now going on upon this subject. I find my sympathy in this connection mainly with the Catholics and the Jews rather than with the Protestants. If I were forced to choose which influence I would prefer to have prevail in a school to which I might be obliged to send a child, I should very much prefer the Catholic treatment of the subject of the future life to the Calvinistic. The conception of purgatory imputes less dishonesty to the Creator than the conception of a perpetual hell; and I think that Catholicism can be more readily adapted to the conditions of modern life, and will be more surely modified and purged of that which is bad or erroneous, than the religious system of the Calvinist, which is based on such a logical method that, if the premises are accepted, the conclusion of necessity ensues, as Calvin reasoned. And this conclusion leads directly toward atheism rather than toward modification of religious conceptions, such as the Catholic Church may adopt and may teach. Witness St. George Mivart's two articles in the "Nineteenth Century," in which the views of a Catholic scientist, of the highest ability, on evolution and on Biblical criticism, are given. Is it not only within a single generation, or at the utmost within two, that the Unitarian or rational type of religious belief has been brought to the notice of every-day or common people who have not much time to devote to the subject? Is it not the function of the Unitarian to bring the concepts of religion into the daily work of men? If the world and the flesh are in their nature bad, corrupt, misleading, and treacherous; if Scriptural texts can be and are perverted so as to condemn worldly prudence, foresight, economy, and the accumulation of capital, as they are, — then he who feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, and houses the poor in ever increasing abundance, comfort, and welfare, is outside the pale of faith, outside the performance of good works: he is but prolonging the lives

and multiplying the numbers of those who, being "conceived in sin and born in iniquity," must go down to everlasting damnation.

Now, the very conception of commerce is that of mutual service; yet the very common idea which prevails, especially among the clergy, is that in all trade each man is trying to get an advantage over his customer, that in all manufacturing each man is trying to make the poorest substance that will pass the test of the market, that each man will cheat his neighbor, adulterate his goods, put on false marks, and mislead the ignorant and the poor, provided he does n't get found out. This conception of commerce is so far from the truth as to be almost absurd.

Yet I do not wonder that the representatives of sects who deal in their book-shops in total depravity and eternal punishment at two to ten cents per creed should suspect salt in the sugar, sawdust in the spice, pipeclay in the cotton, or strychnine in the beer in which their parishioners deal. When men impute to the Almighty motives, methods, and acts which, if avowed or applied by any merchant or manufacturer to the conduct of his own life, would destroy his credit and cause distrust of his character, their influence can only be maintained in inverse proportion to the intelligence of those whom they undertake to teach.

I have often had occasion to point out, as others have done before me, that fraud, peculation, and dishonesty in trade are conspicuous because they are *not* common. What were the number of dishonest transactions to-day compared to the number of opportunities for theft, fraud, and cheating? What is the best and most profitable account on the manufacturer's or merchant's books? It may be and often is the guarantee account; *i.e.*, the sum charged to the cost of goods and credited to guarantee, to protect the merchant against bad debts. My father was a merchant for over forty years, dealing with men during

the period when capital was scarce and credits were given on almost all transactions. Yet he told me that the losses by bad debts which he had made throughout his business career would not come to fifty cents on each one hundred dollars' worth of goods sold. My business experience began forty-six years ago, when the customary credit on domestic cotton fabrics was eight months, and on woollen fabrics ten, sometimes twelve, months. Before the railway had sunk time and distance in a fraction of a cent a ton a mile for the cost of moving the goods, the necessities of the work of distribution required long credit to be given. From that time to the present, I have been personally connected with factories whose sales have amounted to at least a hundred million dollars' worth first and last; and I can safely say that the losses by bad debts throughout this period on the aggregate of these transactions have not exceeded fifty cents, and would probably be less than twenty-five cents, on each one hundred dollars' worth of goods sold. The factories, workshops, and warehouses on which the company of which I am president now carries ninety million dollars of insurance, and, in connection with other companies of like kind, organized in a mutual association for mutual service to the manufacturers, have outstanding policies in all to the amount of four hundred and fifty million dollars. In the next twelve months, the value of the goods and wares which will be turned out by these establishments will be more than eight hundred million dollars. In my judgment, if the owners of these establishments would pay any guarantee company one half of one per cent, fifty cents on each one hundred dollars, or four million dollars, to guarantee the prompt payment of the eight hundred million dollars when due, the profit in that transaction would be one half that sum, or two million dollars. What inference as to the character of the community is to be drawn from these facts?

If the great mass of men did not on the whole intend to

live fairly and to deal fairly with others, no commerce would be possible on any large scale. In proportion as the law of mutual service is wittingly or unwittingly applied does the service increase with corresponding welfare to each and all.

In my own experience, I have observed that the best goods of every kind, whether high-priced or low-priced, of which the quality is maintained uniformly through a long term of years, yield the best profit to the manufacturer.

Another rather curious result is this: that when the reputation of any given class of goods is thoroughly established on its name or trade mark, the middle-man or dealer can secure but the least margin of profit from its sale.

On the other hand, goods which are badly made, adulterated, or which depend upon mere fashion or fancy for their sale, last but a little while, and are dangerous to all who touch them. The skill of the dealer is in meeting the fashion and in rightly estimating the time in which a given fancy or fashion may last, and in getting a big profit on the first sales to cover the possible loss on the stock left when the fashion changes.

In making the broad statement that the law of commerce is, on the whole, one of mutual service, subject only to such exceptions as strengthen the rule, I do not ignore the enormous sales of quack medicines, perhaps the most obnoxious, immoral, and even wicked method of raising money on the pretence of service. But herein, again, comes the necessity for raising the standard of individual intelligence. In this matter, as in speculating in Wall Street, there would be no wolves to shear the lambs if the lambs did not bring their own fleeces to be shorn. If people would not ignorantly dose themselves or ignorantly buy quack medicines in order to take alcoholic stimulants in disguise, the traffic in quack medicines would not pay. It implies a knave on one side and a fool on the other, because it takes two to make a bargain. That is to say,

it is only people who are very credulous in respect to matters on which they are uninformed who are cheated or misled in their purchases of anything; but, in this matter of trade, all that is necessary is to find out what is the character of the maker or the dealer of whom you buy, and then you need not give a thought to the quality of the goods you buy: they are sure to be as good as the price you are willing to pay will permit. How curiously perverted words become in use! We talk about bargains. Now, if you attempt to bar a reasonable gain for the service rendered by the dealer of whom you buy, you will be sure to be cheated in the long run, because you covet what he ought to gain.

The whole country is now agitated by different phases of what is called the "labor question," and there has never been a period in the history of any country when so much attention has been given to the study of the forces which make for material abundance and human welfare. There are all sorts of empirical devices for improving the standard of living; but to every one who brings to this subject an honest mind it soon becomes apparent that the only way to raise the general standard of living and to benefit the community as a whole is to develop the personal character and capacity of each and every individual member of the community to a yet higher plane. The primary source of all wealth is in the manual and mechanical work which is done by the many under the direction — not control but leadership — of the few, by whom all are served alike. It is as true that capital is placed at the service of labor by the capitalist as it is that labor serves capital in the production of commodities. There never was a time when science and invention had placed such opportunities in the way of young men and young women to live well as the present time. But the stream cannot rise higher than its source; and if many remain ignorant and incapable of taking advantage of the opportunities which science and

invention have placed at their disposal for developing the products of our mother earth, then even a low standard of subsistence may with difficulty be attained, and the hardships to which the many are subjected will continue to be imposed upon them by their own incapacity.

The mind of man is the important factor in material production. Character counts for more than capital in getting a living. He makes the best use of his capital who by the use either of his brain or his capital, while serving himself, at the same time raises the earnings of the workmen to the highest point by reducing the cost of production to the lowest; and that is the law of progress. The dollars of the gain which the capitalist earns under these conditions are but a tithe of the service which he renders to all; he may benefit his fellow-men vastly more in the getting of his fortune or the gaining of his wealth than he possibly can in the spending or disposing of it even for charitable purposes.

But the work in which the business man is occupied, although it is in using the things of the world and in providing for the flesh, is yet fully justified, and its beneficence is acknowledged. One may say, "All this is but a part of the estimation in which men of affairs are now held by Catholic and Protestant, by Calvinist and Unitarian, by Deist and Atheist alike." But is it so? Is this view of the world and of the material doings of men, which are symbolized as "the flesh" in the text, consistent with the creeds by which the world is condemned and all things in it, and in which it is held that the life of man is misspent unless it is devoted to a little, petty, selfish undertaking for saving his own soul, — a matter about which he need not worry himself in the slightest measure, if he does what is given him to do in this world as well as he knows how to do it?

The hardships and trials of life may hide from us much that it would be helpful to know; yet is there not in every

man a spark of that inspiration, however dim, which may lighten the way and may bear witness to the life that is beyond?

> "The one remains; the many change and pass.
> Heaven's light forever shines, earth's shadows fly.
> Life, like a dome of many-colored glass,
> Stains the white radiance of eternity,
> Until death comes and shatters it to fragments."

Why the work of life should be so hard, we cannot tell. What it must have been before the inventions of science had lightened the work we cannot imagine. This much we do know: that by patient, honest work the character is formed and capacity is developed. We know that the old Hebrew myth, that labor is a curse imposed upon man because of his sin, has no foundation. We know that work is a beneficent necessity, through which men are brought under the healthy stimulus of prospective want to the highest plane which their time and opportunity in this world will permit. We know that the functions of men of affairs are of the utmost beneficence, even though their work pertains to matters of the world and of the flesh.

I suppose each man's conception of his relation to the eternal, which must be the foundation of all religion, will vary according to the individual development of the man himself. Many may be aided by forms and symbols which to others convey no meaning. What matter? If the conception of religion is true and honest, the life will correspond: if the conception of God implies a power exerted in a mean and unjustifiable manner, then the life may correspond to that type of what is called religious, and may be very ignoble. To my own mind there is something very obnoxious and repellent in the common separation of religion from life, which is implied in the theory of sudden conversion or of revivals: yet more in the ordinary forms of exhortation, by which it is implied that all men must be

sinners until they shall be saved in a particular way. Is it not, in nine cases out of ten, either an act of unconscious hypocrisy or of intellectual dishonesty when men apply to themselves in their attitude toward their Creator terms which they would resent with the utmost indignation if they were applied to them by others? I do not think common forms of religion will either gain or retain a strong hold upon men who have passed beyond the phase of superstition, so long as its terminology differs so much as it commonly does from the phrases, forms of speech, and tones or inflections of voice which are used in every-day life. It is for these reasons that, while I have never felt called upon to join any particular church or to become anything more than a member of a Unitarian parish, I look upon the ideas which are symbolized under the name of Unitarian as being necessary to the progress both of mental and of material welfare throughout the world.

The open secret which few yet seem to comprehend, although all act consistently with it unless restricted in their individual liberty, is that not only individual wealth, but the common welfare of States and Nations, is attained in most ample measure through interdependence, and not through independence. The higher law on which modern society is founded is that of mutual service.

Those who apply reason to the conceptions of religion may fully attain the leadership which they are rapidly gaining and to which they are entitled in all sects and denominations by joining religion and life, which have been so widely separated in creed and practice heretofore. The basis of faith will be found in the recognition of the fact that there is a law of harmony in the universe, ultimately controlling the relations of men to each other under the conditions of mutual service, as truly as the planets in their courses are bound by the supreme law which is becoming more and more within the knowledge and comprehension of men as science is more and more developed.

As time goes on, I think it cannot fail to become a part of the common economic faith that all the forces which make the rate of wages or the margin of profit, and which control commerce among men, tend to remove the more noxious and degrading conditions from the work; to lessen the necessity for unduly hard work in mechanical and manual labor; to secure to the workmen a constantly increasing share of an increasing product; and to diminish the number of drones who live on the proceeds of others' labor without doing any service in return. It is also possible that within one or two generations the old economic dogma, which is in its place as vicious as the bad creeds from which I have quoted, and perhaps more harmful in its effect upon the material conditions of men than these old pseudo-religious creeds now are in their effect upon spiritual conditions, — namely, *that in all commerce what one gains another must lose*, — may be displaced by the righteous conception that in all commerce, whether between men of the same nation or with other nations, both parties gain, and that commerce exists simply by the force of the mutual service which is wittingly or unwittingly rendered by every man who buys and sells and gets gain, dealing honestly in wholesome goods and wares. When this economic faith is joined to a true spiritual insight, then, indeed, all the forces by which human action is guided and controlled will work together for peace, order, industry, good-will, and plenty among the nations. Then may the vision of the poet become indeed a living truth: —

> "Down the dark future through long generations
> The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;
> And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
> I hear once more the voice of Christ say, 'Peace.'
>
> "Peace; and no longer from its brazen portals
> The blast of war's great organ shakes the skies;
> But, beautiful as songs of the immortals,
> The holy melodies of love arise."

My friends, this is an age of freedom. We have attained personal liberty, freedom of thought, freedom of action: we may yet attain freedom of commerce in the broadest sense, in which all men may serve one another. May we not find in these conditions that faith which is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen"? If this is not so, —

> "Of what avail the plough and sail,
> Or land, or life, if freedom fail?"

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AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,

25 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS

THE MISTAKES, THE OPPORTUNITIES,

AND

THE NEEDS OF UNITARIANISM.

BY

REV. GRINDALL REYNOLDS.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,
BOSTON.

Our Faith.

The Fatherhood of God.
The Brotherhood of Man.
The Leadership of Jesus.
Salvation by Character.
The Progress of Mankind,
onward and upward forever.

Typical Church Covenant.

In the love of the truth, and the spirit of Jesus Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man.

Our Declaration

(*As expressed in the By-Laws of the American Unitarian Association*).

"The object of the American Unitarian Association shall be to diffuse the knowledge and promote the interests of pure Christianity; and all Unitarian Christians shall be invited to unite and co-operate with it for that purpose."

(*As expressed by the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1894.*)

"These Churches accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man.

"The Conference recognizes the fact that its constituency is Congregational in tradition and polity. Therefore, it declares that nothing in this Constitution is to be construed as an authoritative test; and we cordially invite to our working fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our spirit and our practical aims."

THE MISTAKES, THE OPPORTUNITIES,

AND

THE NEEDS OF UNITARIANISM.

Freely ye have received, freely give. — Matt. x. 9.

The subject on which I have been asked to speak to you this morning may be stated in a few words. It is "The Mistakes, the Opportunities, the Work, and the Needs of the Unitarian Body."

Let me begin with the mistakes. We Unitarians have underrated the place and power of religious sentiments, religious convictions, and religious truth in promoting human welfare and human progress. When, seventy years ago, the Unitarian body came into existence, it found the opinions of truth, which should be fluent and open to new light, hardened into creeds that resisted light. As a result, we have so largely reacted from that condition of things that we do not attribute to religious opinions half their real power in the world. We keep practical teaching, which affects daily conduct, so much in the foreground that we almost put out of sight the intellectual conditions of truth and thinking. What I should say, on carefully considering the subject, would be that these religious opinions and convictions have been the most powerful and the most permanent of influences in human history. I do not overlook the blessing that comes from physical attainment. I un-

derstand how much human welfare has been increased by the diffusion of comforts and luxuries; what a burden has been lifted from men by the inventions of our day, making the work of one hour equal often to the work of many hours of the generation that preceded us; how much the human mind and human life have been enlarged by those scientific discoveries that have made it so easy to communicate, man with man and mind with mind. Neither do I overlook the value of intellectual progress in promoting human welfare, — how the common school system, bringing all our children within its influence, gives to our men and women, as they grow up, power over their own faculties; how libraries, introducing us into a larger life, make those whose daily walk is very narrow, by imagination and thought, able to range over the whole world, and to have some intercourse with the great minds of this age and of every age; how our higher forms of education, training men who are searching into the deep things of truth, are exercising an influence that reaches not only their own hearts, not only the homes of those near to them, but the homes of the humblest as well as the proudest. These things ought not to be overlooked; and yet, looking these things in the face, I repeat that religious sentiments, religious opinions, religious truth, on the whole, exercise the most powerful and the most enduring influence over human welfare and human advancement.

Look into the past, and consider what we call the ethical religions, — the religions that we do not place on the same line with our own Christianity, — if you please, the religion of the Buddhists. Since the thoughts that are at the foundation of that religion were communicated to the world, race after race has come over the land of its birth, dynasty after dynasty has risen and fallen, there have been days of glory and days of subjugation, until the whole story of the land and of the people has

become so mixed, so uncertain, that no one but the specialist in that branch of history can trace their life. But the religion abides, — abides as a power and as a benefit, — so good and so full of truth that we, living in the blaze of Christian civilization, think it well worth our while to study the truth of this religion, to quote its best things for our own helping and the helping of others.

Come down into the Christian centuries. In the darkness of the Middle Ages there was born a simple monk, of no great outward standing. Naturally, we should say he was one who would have but little power either to promote human welfare or to advance the race on its march upward. But that monk had some deep, new thoughts about religion, some burning religious convictions, — something that he felt man needed to take him out of darkness and bring him into the light. So we had the Reformation. Nothing in the last ten centuries has so largely promoted human welfare, and nothing has done more for human advancement.

Come down later. A century ago was a notable period in English history. The mighty conflicts all over the Continent of Europe which followed the Reign of Terror, were taking place. That great warfare, of which the central figure was Napoleon, was going on. No greater period externally, thinking of statesmanship, thinking of warfare, thinking of the reconstruction and remaking of States, had been known. There appeared about that time in England a simple preacher, John Wesley, bringing, if I may so say, a democratic word of religion, — not so much a new word of religion as bringing the old religion to the people that somehow had been shut out of the churches, — to the miners and to the manufacturing people, to the people who had to bear a very heavy burden. To them he brought this democratic word of religion, a word full of cheer, free grace, the Arminian

doctrine set on fire; no longer the Calvinistic doctrine, that only one here and there was elected to salvation, but that Christ came for all, and that all had an opportunity. Now I venture to say that in the whole history of England a hundred years ago there was nothing to compare in real and permanent power with this word of John Wesley, which created a religious denomination numbering to-day probably at least ten or fifteen millions of people. And, while we may not agree with all of his opinions, we must admit that it was for human welfare, that the people to whom this religious word came were strengthened and purified by it.

But why should we go away from our own State? Seventy-five years ago Channing spoke his word. Seventy-five years ago the liberal movement commenced in Eastern Massachusetts. I do not think that we really appreciate what that movement in Eastern Massachusetts seventy-five years ago did. We say that this is the State of the Pilgrim and the Puritan. We sometimes talk as though their influence upon our Commonwealth was so powerful that it was not possible that any other should replace it. But in Eastern Massachusetts at least, Channing, his compeers and successors, have wrought as powerfully as ever the Pilgrim or the Puritan did. The more you study, the more you will see that this is so. Especially is their power seen in the impulse they gave to philanthropy. Some years ago, I was asked to examine this subject, and write upon it for one of our conferences. I was astonished beyond measure. Hardly a philanthropic movement has been commenced in Massachusetts, within seventy-five years, that has not had prominent at its birth Unitarian workers and, at its base, the Unitarian conviction of man's moral capability, that he has something in him by which he can be lifted out of any mire into which he has fallen, to the lofty stature of a man, — a son of God.

What we need, if we wish to do our best work, is to recognize that such portion of the truth of God as is committed to us, our religious conviction, is the strongest weapon, the sharpest and most penetrating weapon, with which to cut down and cast aside all that is of error or of evil in the world, that we may build up a truer kingdom of God.

Let me speak of a second error, — our exaggeration of the position of Liberal Orthodoxy. Over and over again I have heard men of our faith speak as though Unitarianism had nothing further to do; that in the bosom of the Orthodox Church there was growing up, or had already grown up, that which would do all the work for us. Now, I respect Liberal Orthodox people. I respect men who, holding opinions that seem to me in many respects to belong to the dead past, not to the living present, yet have such generous and liberal souls; who, despite the chains of creed, despite all the associations that hold them back, are at any rate seeking to walk in the perfect light. But, after all, when you examine what Liberal Orthodoxy is, you see that it has not as yet fully comprehended itself. It has not as yet made up its own system of truth. It is liberal here; it is strict there. It is true in this direction; it is of the old past in that direction.

Consider this great strife that is going on with regard to the Andover school. Can the new Andover gospel take the place of our Unitarian gospel? The old statement to which signature is required, which, as we read it, seems almost a chapter out of John Calvin's Institutes, is taken for the "substance of Doctrine." Would you and I be willing to take that creed and have it read for the "substance of Doctrine" of any Unitarian church? We are very glad that these men honestly and frankly can make this mild interpretation; but, so long as that statement is taken for the substance of doctrine, it is

impossible for those who hold it to have free limbs, free minds, free lips to speak. But take the one single feature, on which the whole controversy is really hinging, whether we have a right to hope that the heathen, who have never heard of Christ in this world, may hear of him in the future world and have an opportunity for salvation. But what of the heathen in our own streets? What of the men and women who come into this world with such prepossessions, such environment, such influences, that it is well-nigh impossible that they should be in any real and true sympathy with what is deep and profound in Christian truth, — what of them in the future?

I recall an individual instance. I have a friend who is a Liberal Orthodox, an excellent man, seeking light, and coming gradually to the light. He has noble views about the doctrine of salvation, about the progress of man. But he holds that, if I do not read the chapters in the New Testament which tell of the miraculous birth of Jesus Christ and fully accept them, I must throw all Christianity away; that I cannot take as settled Jesus' noble conception of God as Father, of man as brother, and of holiness as a thing within our souls, making us pure within as well as without. No, friends; never can there be a greater mistake than for us to desert the place of duty because we think some other people, whom we call Liberal Orthodox, and whom we have a right to respect, are gradually coming forward to occupy our position. They cannot do our work to-day: we must do it ourselves.

Take a third mistake of our Unitarian people, — an exaggeration of our intellectual differences, leading us to underrate our power of work in common. Of course, we have differences. No body of people but must look at the truth from a little different point of view. If I were to put upon this platform a statue, and ask you all to

draw it as it looked to you, there would be in each man's case a little difference of angle that would produce some difference in the thing seen. It is precisely so with truth. Each man has his personal equation. We all look at truth from our own individual situation, from the education that has been given us, from the surroundings that we have in our home and in our business. But what I say is that we exaggerate our Unitarian differences. There is no religious body on earth that on the essential things is closer together than we are, or more ready to march forward as a united army to conquer the world than we Unitarians are.

What are the essential things? God, man, salvation, the future life, — what is above us, what we ourselves are, what real success in life is, and towards what we are tending. These are the vital points.

Now take the doctrine of God. How much difference is there in our Unitarian view? The old idea was that God was a local being, — a local being sitting on his throne, apart from us, but visiting his world and his children occasionally. The Unitarian view everywhere, so far as I know it, is that God is the great central power, wisdom, love of the universe, filling the universe with his presence and near to all souls everywhere. The old idea of God was of a partial being, who, when the race had fallen, made provision by which he elected a few to eternal happiness, the rest to eternal misery. Our Unitarian view is of God as father in the truest sense, universal in his love, caring for all, seeking to lift the sinner as well as comfort the saint, seeking to make, consistently with our freedom, all the influences about us here and hereafter such as shall carry us forward and upward in the moral and spiritual scale, and give us the peace and the joy that only come from a pure heart and a pure life.

Take the doctrine of man. We disagree not at all

about that. The old thought was that man was a ruin, a wreck. He had come into the world a perfect being; but, under the influences of a serious temptation, he had fallen. No matter whether you take the story in Genesis literally, or whether you take it as a symbol, the old conception was man a wreck, a ruin of something that once was perfect. Our conception is, as Dr. Everett said only yesterday, that man is sane, that the world is sane, that man is a limited being, imperfect, but rising, whom we are to seek to elevate more and more.

Take the doctrine of salvation, — how well we agree upon that! The old conception was that a man was saved when he was delivered from future retribution, when he had so accepted some plan of salvation that he could enter himself into joy and peace here and hereafter, leaving the rest of the world to fall into irretrievable pain and ruin. We have no such conception of life as that. Life, beginning here, is discipline, instruction, help to higher faith, to purer thought, to nobler conduct. For higher faith, purer thought, nobler conduct, *are* salvation. And we have no conception of the future world as a world of idleness, as a world merely of personal joy, which can be fully symbolized even by songs of praise. It is a world into which we enter, we hope, somewhat nearer perfection than when we entered this world, but in which, as here, forever and forever we are to strive for higher thought, for purer purpose, for holier living. I think no Unitarian mind has any other conception of life and salvation than this. Our salvation is holiness, purity here, holiness and purity greater and sweeter hereafter.

I might add to this, possibly, that every Unitarian believes that religion is reasonable. There could hardly be a more important consideration. This is an age of reason. This is a period of scientific research. And the time [illegible]upon us, or is coming very rapidly, in which any-

thing that will not approve itself to the God-given reason will be rejected. Now, at any rate, we Unitarians stand ready, all of us, to accept the decisions of reason, to say that, while religion may carry us sometimes outside the perception of reason, it never contradicts reason, it never makes that which is the highest expression of the divine life and power — the human mind — to be utterly awry in the presence of the higher thoughts of religion.

We have, then, something to give; and it is our error that we do not recognize clearly enough this fact, that the duty of giving does not press with sufficient weight upon our consciences and our hearts. The poet sings:

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again."

But no truth crushed to earth ever rose again unless man worked with God. "God worketh hitherto, and I work," was Jesus' word. God works all the time; and it is his law that man must work, too, if the highest thought is to prevail.

We have something to *give*. Is there anybody to *receive* it? Are there any opportunities? Plenty; a hundred-fold more than we shall accept.

Take, in the first place, the children of our Unitarian faith. We sometimes say that Massachusetts is out in the West, that New England is out in the West. That is true. There is probably ten-fold as much of Massachusetts, ten-fold as much of New England, beyond the Hudson as this side. And we may say, with equal truth, that the greater Unitarianism is beyond the Hudson. The children and the grandchildren of the original planters of Unitarianism are scattered all through the Middle States and all over the Western prairies. I found them by scores and hundreds, I might almost say by thousands, on the Pacific Coast. If it was for no other

purpose than to feed these whom we have trained to a love of liberal Christianity, and who cannot find their Sabbath home, the home of their faith and their love, in other churches, we ought to be ten times more active than we are to-day.

Then there is the new Unitarianism which is growing up. Man of his own power never creates a religious body. Channing could not have created Unitarianism. Channing and Parker and all the rest did not make it. Its roots were deep in the soil of the past. Study the history of any Unitarian church. Many years ago, a hundred perhaps, possibly a hundred and fifty years, sometimes at the very beginning of its existence, you will discern something in that church life which was the germ of the plant liberalism. At first, only a few shrivelled leaves, then a little sapling, until finally it became a great spreading tree. This is hardly a figure as applied to the life of single churches, hardly a figure as applied to that wonderful movement of which Channing was the first great herald. A religious body is the result of a long process of evolution, often unperceived even by those who are the subjects of it. Just such a process had made Unitarianism possible in New England, so that, when the man was raised up who voiced the latent faith and feeling, then our body came into being full-orbed, more than a hundred churches strong.

But outside of New England there was no such condition of things, no long wrestling with cruel theological dogmas to prepare large bodies of men and women for a more humane and rational faith. But there is a change going on. The scientific spirit of the times, the questioning concerning the Bible, concerning Jesus, concerning the nature of God, and concerning all high themes, have furnished spiritual preparation on a far wider field than New England. There is not a large town or city growing up west of us which has not many souls which

are in real sympathy with us. They are Unitarians whose roots are not amid the influences which made our Eastern Massachusetts churches, but in the spiritual discipline and questionings which have left untouched no single church and no body of churches. And for these we are needed.

Then I am not sure but we are needed just as much to make Liberal Orthodoxy possible. Where do you find Liberal Orthodoxy most? Is it not here in New England? We do not expect even here to make it identical with our peculiar form of faith. That is not likely to be, certainly not in the lifetime of most of us. The new liberality in religion so far moves on somewhat different lines from the old. But what has happened is this: The constant preaching of broad, free, reasonable truth has ameliorated the theological atmosphere. It has made it natural for men to think their own thoughts and to cherish and to speak their own convictions. It has broken, or is breaking, all chains for mind or soul. Now, outside a narrow limit, in a comparative sense, there is little of this. It is for us to create it. Said a minister, who is working in a town in the Middle States, "Sir, you have no idea how hard the theological soil is here, how little preparation of thought there is for anything new in religion, how wedded to the past, the outgrown past." Here is our opportunity. Here lies the path of duty. We need so to work, so to plough up the moss-bound earth, that there shall be a preparation for higher faith. We may not necessarily create many Unitarian churches. We may not lead great multitudes to take our name or wear our badge. But we can make the religious air which these breathe the atmosphere in which free minds and free souls can live. We can make the old faiths progressive. We can help to throw off what is cruel, what is unreasonable, what really stands in the way of human advancement.

What shall we do for the great army of the unchurched? How shall we help the millions who have ceased to believe in the Trinity, in human depravity, in an everlasting hell, or in any arbitrary plan of salvation, and have found nothing new and inspiring with which to replace the old? If we work for these, we are not interfering with any earnest people, let them call themselves by what name they will. We are bringing a new influence, that we may save some. There are a few who can afford to stand alone, unchurched as we term them. They are strong souls, men and women who think their own thoughts, and rise on their own wings into communion with truths pure and ineffable. But the number who can afford to stand alone, apart from churches, apart from all social religious sympathy, is few. So for most it is a bad position when in our religious faith and hope we cannot join hands with anybody, when we stand aliens from all the church commonwealths, and find no social, moral, and religious influence anywhere to help us, — a dangerous moral position. And, if we have any new truth, or any better statement of old truth, to offer, which can attract and inspire those who are outside all churches, can we fold our hands? Can we keep heart and tongue silent? What is this but a great opportunity, unless it be most of all a solemn call of duty? If we will not go in and possess the land, must not the sceptre pass from us?

We have something to give: that we cannot gainsay. There are plenty to receive it: that we cannot deny. How, then, shall we work? How would you work? There is one avenue that is clearly open to us, and that is literature. This is a reading age. Even heresy will be read. Almost the greatest power there is in this world is the printed page. Channing spoke in the old Berry-Street Church, which could hold only a few hundreds. Is his mightiest power what he accomplished speaking

to four or five or six hundred people on a Sunday? Not at all. His mightiest power is found in the distribution of his word to the reading public in America, in England, in Germany, in France, in the Scandinavian States, ay, in old Iceland, to hundreds of thousands of thinking, reading men and women. This multiplies his power fifty to a hundred fold. Men come to me often from abroad, who know nothing about Unitarianism except what they have read of Channing. They say it has been new light, new blessedness to them. People of this country say that. I walked up a Vermont hill with an Orthodox minister who had known nothing about Unitarianism; but he had had a copy of Channing presented to him, and he could not find words to express the delight he felt in reading it.

Take your own minister. You muster here a thousand or so on a Sunday to hear his word gladly. He opens to you new thoughts, new reaches of feeling and hope. But is the largest work of your minister done within the narrow walls of this church? I question it. I question whether the twenty or thirty, possibly the fifty thousand, men and women who from week to week devour his words, do not harvest in their lives and in their souls his mightiest influences. So I say the first way to work is to distribute literature. Twenty thousand copies of Channing have gone from our rooms at 25 Beacon Street; and this year two hundred thousand tracts of our own, and very likely fifty or sixty thousand of others, have gone from that centre on the wings of the wind. Who shall measure their power?

I recollect very well, as an illustration of this power of literature, being some time ago in a house where the wife of a Trinitarian minister was. She was intensely conservative; yet she was reading "Robert Elsmere." She did not like its views, she said, — she condemned them; but I observed that she kept reading it and

reading it, as it were under protest, till she finished it. She would not have come to hear Mr. Savage preach, nor would she have gone to hear Dr. Channing; but she did hear the preaching of literature. That is one method of working.

Another method of working is to reach the young men who are to be the teachers of men and to exercise great social influences. So we have college-town churches. I am not going to speak at length about them. A few years ago I went to Madison, Wis. There was a young college church, with about thirty or forty students and a hundred people in attendance. I was there recently, and there were two hundred and fifty people, — of these at least one seventh of all the college students, some eighty or ninety in all. I inquired about them. They were the brightest students in the college. They were largely the men who occupied the upper ranges of rank. Now will you tell me what is going to be accomplished by sending out from these various colleges every year from four to eight hundred of the finest young men and women who, before they heard our gospel, very likely were, most of them, unchurched, who had never heard of Unitarian truth, — sending them out, I say, imbued with large ideas, with rich thoughts, with most comforting Christian conceptions? You cannot overrate the influence of such a work.

One other thing, — building churches in great centres. I went to Washington Territory, — a new kingdom in process of growth. Fifty years ago there was nothing there. Twenty years ago there was nearly nothing. I went to a town where six years ago there was absolutely nothing, unless you call the trees and wild beasts and waterfalls something, — absolutely nothing. To-day it has nearly twenty thousand people. Were we not wise in building a Unitarian church there? There is an attendance of about two hundred, many from New Eng-

land, of Unitarian training, and finding no peace nor freedom in any other form of church. At other places in Washington Territory we are starting influences that shall make that Territory, not indeed Unitarian, but large in its ideas, high and pure in its conception of God, full of hope for the future of man here and for his eternal progress hereafter. What is true of Washington Territory is true of every State and Territory west of us. Nay, it is equally true of our own Massachusetts. Wherever a growing town of five thousand or ten thousand or twenty thousand people is, there are people who need us, to whom no one else can so well minister as we. Wherever such towns are, are possible centres of influence, not necessarily to build up many churches of our name, but to make the thought all around broader and freer. To plant such churches in their places is not sectarianism. It is simply doing our duty. It is doing our little part to build up God's kingdom.

These are some of the means of work.

What do we need? Your faith. That is what we need first, — not money, but the faith and devotion of the men and women of our body, the feeling in their souls that God has committed something spiritual to them; that all the work of this world does not consist in building railroads and sending out steamships and creating new industries or in establishing good schools or building libraries and colleges; that there is a soul in man, that there are hungers and thirsts that look above this world that we ought to supply with the richest fruits of the spirit. We want first, we want last, we want all the time, your faith, your consecration.

Then, when we speak of the means, — for these things cannot be done without money, — we want you should feel that this missionary work, if we call it that, or this work of planting a liberal faith, takes its place with man's greatest needs. I come to you and ask if you

will not assist in building a railroad, and you give me ten thousand dollars. I ask if you will not help Harvard University, and you give me five thousand dollars. I ask you for some charity, as a home for the aged poor, and you give me a thousand dollars. But I ask you to help cheer souls, to enlarge and broaden the convictions of men, and just as likely as not you give me five or ten dollars, or you give me nothing. Now I shall have failed utterly if I do not accomplish this: convince you that the difference of high and cheerful religious convictions is one of the best ways of helping this world to better life, — yes, and one of the best ways of helping men to true happiness.

One need more: we want men. How shall we get them? I said at the Unitarian Club the other evening that there was a certain public sentiment here that prevents young men from becoming ministers. There is a good deal of talk that way, as though it were far better to be a merchant, far better to be a railroad man, far better to go out on a ranch and take care of cattle and thus feed the human family. All these are noble employments. There is no kind of employment, where a man honestly works with his hands or with his mind, that is not noble. I know something about mercantile life, — I was trained in it, and some of the best men I know are merchants. But surely the work of the ministry opens another field for our young men in which they will not starve. Ministers get along just about as well, on the average, as other men, on the plane of material support. But more; it opens a field where they will at once, if they be earnest, if they be well trained, if they be consecrated, take a place of influence. The public spirit of this congregation, and the public spirit of all our congregations, ought to be such that, the moment the sense of human need and a spirit of devotion and desire to help his fellows throbs in the young man's

soul, he should be encouraged to go at once to our schools of learning and fit himself to minister.

These are our needs: your faith, your confidence, your love, your generosity, and, most of all, the brightest young men out of your households.

Let me close with the text, — for it expresses all we can say, — "Freely ye have received, freely give." God has given you the blessing of a religion that is broad, that is hopeful: help others to it.

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BY

REV. THOMAS G. MILSTED.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,
BOSTON.

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The Brotherhood of Man.
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THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY FROM THE MUSTARD-SEED.

And he said, Whereunto shall we liken the Kingdom of God, or with what comparison shall we compare it? It is like a grain of mustard-seed, which when it is sown in the earth is less than all the seeds that be in the earth; but when it is sown it groweth up, and becometh greater than all herbs and shooteth out great branches; so that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it. — MARK iv. 30–32.

WHEN we plant a tree or a vine it is interesting to watch its growth. Even though we know that it is duly cared for, we like to see it put forth the slender branch, and note its development till it grows into the spreading tree or the climbing ivy. Growth everywhere is likewise interesting. The knowledge men once possessed was as the smallest seed of the earth; but it has grown from more to more till it embraces the heavens and the earth, nature and life. Jesus tells us that the Kingdom of God is to come in the same way; from a grain of mustard-seed it will grow till it becomes greater than all herbs, giving shelter to many living creatures.

When we look upon the Christian System filling so much of life with its churches, its doctrines, its forms, services and ceremonies, we are apt to think that it has always been thus; but that would be a great mistake. Christianity as it now is did not spring full-fledged into being, as Minerva is fabled to have sprung from the brain

of Jove. Its growth was slow, and can be readily traced from its small beginning down through the Christian centuries.

What then was the starting-point, the first statement of doctrinal Christianity? Simply this, *that Jesus was the Messiah or Christ.* When John the Baptist was in prison he sent two of his disciples to Jesus to ask, "Art thou he that cometh, or do we look for another?" — that is, another Messiah. (Matt. xi. 3.) Jesus asked the Apostles, "Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am?" Some had said he was John the Baptist; some, Elijah; others, Jeremiah. But Peter said, "Thou art *the Christ*, the Son of the living God."[1] And Jesus said, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona." (Matt. xvi. 13–17.) The high priest besought Jesus to tell whether he was *the Christ.* (Matt. xxvi. 63). "When Silas and Timothy came down from Macedonia, Paul was constrained by the word testifying to the Jews that Jesus was *the Christ.*" (Acts xviii. 5). "For he powerfully confuted the Jews, and that publicly, shewing by the Scriptures that Jesus was *the Christ.*" (Acts xviii. 28). We see from these passages that the whole question centred around the Messiahship of Jesus.

The simplicity of Apostolic doctrine is further seen in the account of Philip and the eunuch, contained in the eighth chapter of Acts (Revised Version). The eunuch was on his way to his native land, and sitting in his chariot was reading the Scriptures. What were the Scriptures? The Old Testament. The Gospels were not yet written; the story of Jesus lived only in the hearts and memories of the Apostles. Paul was, as yet, an unconverted Pharisee, and had not penned his immortal Epistles. Those first preachers of the Word had not

[1] *Christ* is the translation into Greek of the Hebrew word *Messiah*, that is, *Anointed.*

the New Testament, as we have, from which to read; so Philip began at that same Scripture and "preached unto him Jesus." They came to a certain water: the eunuch said, "What doth hinder me to be baptized?" They stopped the chariot, and went down into the water; the eunuch was baptized into the new faith, and went on his way rejoicing.

The Apostles asked no questions about original sin, endless punishment, or verbal inspiration; but simply, "Do you believe that Jesus was the Messiah?" The Jews said, "No! he was not; the Messiah is yet to come." The Apostles said, "The Messiah is already come; look no more with longing eyes to the land of David for his appearing; watch no more the clouds of heaven for his coming; he has already come; Jesus was he." About this one point raged the first controversy of our faith; and the convert had only to say he believed Jesus was the Messiah or Christ and be baptized.

Thus far Christianity was still within the pale of Judaism. The Apostles were still Jews, and had no thought of neglecting the Law or of setting up anything in opposition to it. But soon gentile converts began to embrace Christianity, and the question arose, Must they also embrace the Law? Must they become Jews before they could become Christians? All the Apostles but Paul said "Yes." He, having in the mean time been converted, said, "No. The Law is now done away, superseded by the Gospel." Paul's view finally prevailed. Christianity was then separated from Judaism, and started on its own course of development and growth.

The early Christians believed the world was coming to an end in their day with the second appearing of Christ. This belief completely absorbed their attention and interest, so that they gave little thought to other things. But when they found that the second coming of Christ was not to be in their day, they began to spec-

ulate on the various things connected with their faith; and, as we would naturally suppose, their thought and inquiry first centred around the central figure of that faith, — Christ. Was he God, or man, or neither, or both? He was at first regarded as the Master and Teacher, and perfected type of our humanity. But speculation did not allow him to rest here. He was soon identified with the WORD, the Wisdom, the Thought of God, the *Logos* of the philosophers; and the first step was thus taken towards the doctrine of the Trinity. The divinity of the Word was set forth by Justin and others in the latter half of the second century after Christ.

The word *Trinity* does not occur in the New Testament, nor anywhere in the Bible, nor in any Christian writing for nearly two centuries. Tertullian, at the end of the second century, was the first to use the word in such a way as to bring it into the vocabulary of the Church; and he thus plunged the Church into a controversy which has not yet ceased. Even when this great father of the Church used the word, it was with a meaning with which we would all agree. He said that when we see sunlight on the floor of a room we say it is the sun shining there; but if we wish to distinguish between the light in the room and the far-away orb of day from which it comes, we must call the former sun*beam*, and only the latter the *sun*. Likewise, argued Tertullian, we may call the spirit in Christ divine, but must distinguish between it and the Lord of all, whence it came; for as no room can contain all the light of day, neither can any soul compass all the spirit of God. This is exactly the liberal Christian view, — that there was in Christ as much of the spirit of God as can be compassed by a living soul, as much of the eternal as can be contained in the temporal, as much of the immortal as can be joined to the mortal, as much of the heavenly as can be brought to our earthly abode, as much of the Divine

spirit as can dwell within the limits of flesh and blood; while over and above this is the immeasurable fulness of the Most High, who inhabiteth eternity, and who "weaveth the ages as a garment upon a loom."

For more than a hundred years the nature of Christ and his relation to the Father were discussed and debated, he being exalted more and more with the passing years, until the Council of Nicæa, in the year 325 A. D., declared in the Nicene Creed that Christ was "of the same substance" with the Father. The two names most prominent in the proceedings of this Council are those of Athanasius, a celebrated Greek father of the Church, and Arius. The former held the belief which the Council adopted; the latter taught that Christ was a created being midway between God and man. For half a century after this decision raged the violent "Arian Controversy." And by this time the deification of Jesus had been carried so far, that Apollinaris denied that there was a human soul in Christ. This teaching was deemed a heresy, to decide upon which another Council must be called. Again, the first council, after stating what was believed concerning Christ, had added, "And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost." Here was another subject for discussion, and an occasion for new heresies; so in the year 381 A. D. a council was called at Constantinople, which settled the Apollinarian heresy, and added to the Creed a declaration that the Spirit is also a Divine Person, to be "worshipped and glorified with the Father and the Son." Thus, a little before the end of the fourth century, the Trinity was fully established as the doctrine of the Church. But it was not till the year 451 A. D. that this doctrine received its final authoritative form, at the fourth Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon.

We notice that Constantine the Great, who called together the first Council at Nicæa, was also instrumental in establishing Sunday as the Christian day of rest and

worship. We read in the New Testament that "when the first day of the week was come," the Apostles met together. But the Jewish day began at sunset; and scholars are now agreed that those first-day meetings were at the time corresponding to our Saturday evening, after the services of the Jewish Sabbath were over. Down to the time of Constantine there were four ways among Christians of keeping the Sabbath: some kept Saturday, some, Sunday; others, in order to be sure, kept both; others, again, trying to follow Paul's command to make every day the same, kept neither. Constantine, in order to have uniformity of worship, and to unite his subjects as closely as possible, issued the following edict in the year 321 A. D.: "Let all judges and inhabitants of cities, and all craftsmen, rest on the venerable day of the Sun. But countrymen may lawfully and freely attend to the cultivation of the fields, lest by delay the opportunity granted by the favor of heaven should be lost; seeing that it so frequently happens that the grain and the vine cannot be so fitly planted on any other day." This was the first enactment or command, whether civil or religious, to keep the first day of the week instead of the seventh. Some think that a civil edict was not of sufficient authority to warrant the change. But it was a necessity of history; and the way of history is the way of God. It was God working through the man Moses who established the seventh day as the day of worship, and it was God working through the man Constantine who afterwards established the first day instead.

The next great leader in the development of doctrine was Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. He was born in North Africa in the year 353 and died in the year 430, while the Vandals were besieging the city of Hippo, his home. Augustine was born of a Pagan father and a Christian mother, and followed the faith of his father. All the efforts of his mother for his conversion to Christianity

were long of no avail. He had the best education that the times afforded, and became a teacher of rhetoric and philosophy. According to his "Confessions," he deviated widely from the path of rectitude; until at the age of thirty-one he was converted by Ambrose, of Milan, and, after his baptism two years later, became a teacher and preacher of his newly embraced faith.

In judging his past life and the corrupt Roman world from the Christian standpoint, a thing which most impressed itself deeply upon Augustine's attention was sin. Whence came this sin, and what was its nature? The Jews before the time of Christ, and the Apostle Paul following this view, held the belief that in Adam all humanity fell; that all are born in *Original Sin;* we are not born in the image of God, but come into the world bearing the great burden of *Native Depravity.* This doctrine, as so large a part of Christendom now holds it, was first elaborated and taught by Augustine. But he did not stop here. If men persist in sin they will suffer *Everlasting Punishment.* Though several others had accepted and urged this doctrine, interpreting literally the language of the Testament, which we regard as symbolical, Augustine is the first writer to undertake a long and elaborate defence of the doctrine of endless punishment. Not yet content, he pushes on to the doctrines of *Predestination* and *Election,* supposing himself here to be teaching the doctrine of Paul, which we interpret in quite another sense: the human will is so enfeebled and broken and corrupt through Adam, that it is utterly powerless; it can do nothing of itself, and men will go into everlasting weal or woe according to the arbitrary decree of the Creator.

"Hence, for heathens and for unbaptized children, there is no hope in the world to come of ever seeing God. The result of this belief was to make general the practice of infant baptism, which was not before Augus-

tine's time the universal custom." So interested is he in throwing the terrible chain of his logic around humanity, and in showing the condemnation and the doom of the race, "that the redemption of the world by Christ inevitably assumes a subordinate place, and is practically denied. Adam, and not Christ, becomes the normal man, the representative and federal head of the race."[1] The most loving souls in the church resisted such views with all their power; but the views of Augustine finally prevailed, and Original Sin, Total Depravity, Predestination and Election, Infant Damnation and Endless Punishment at length became doctrines of a large portion of the Christian Church.

It was not till the time we have just considered that the canon of the New Testament was settled. Until the middle of the second century the Christians used the Old Testament in their polemics and apologetics. Not till the beginning of the third century do we find references to the New Testament writings as authoritative. They were not thought to be inspired as were the Old Testament Scriptures. But gradually the interest of the church centred upon the New Testament books. There existed a number of gospels and epistles. They were collected, studied, compared, and some rejected as uncanonical. Several synods in the fourth century, the latest at Carthage in 397, had made official lists of the canonical books; and in 405 Pope Innocent I. fixed by decree the New Testament Canon as it now stands.

The next doctrinal controversy of interest to us was that on the Real Presence. Radbertus, a monk of the ninth century, taking literally the words, "this is my body," and "this is my blood," held that a miraculous change takes place in the elements of the Eucharist in the act of consecration. This was in the year 831; and

[1] A. V. G. Allen, "Continuity of Christian Thought," 157, 160.

though the most intelligent men of the age made a vigorous protest, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as was understood, at length gained the day, and became the central idea of the Mass of the Catholic Church, though it was not formally established until 1215 A. D.

The central doctrine of modern Orthodoxy is the Atonement. Many of the fathers of the Church taught that in the death of Christ a ransom was paid to Satan, who had acquired rights over humanity. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the beginning of the twelfth century modified this doctrine, by teaching that Christ, becoming man, fulfilled in himself the perfect virtue which man is naturally unable to obtain, and by the "imputation" of that virtue makes man's salvation possible.

He thus laid a foundation, in what is called the "governmental" theory, for the modern doctrine of a strictly "vicarious" atonement.[1]

The power of the papacy had been raised to a great height by such able popes as Gregory VII. (1073–1085) and Innocent III. (1198–1216). The keys had been given to Peter, with the power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven. One result of this was the *Confessional.* Auricular confession had become an established custom as early as the fifth century; but it was enjoined, under penalties, by a council held in Rome in the year 1215.

One of the great lights of the Church of the Middle Age was Thomas Aquinas (1227–1274). One of the subjects to which he gave his attention was the connection between reason and faith. He found that reason was of no avail where the mysteries of faith were concerned, so

[1] The word "atonement" does not occur in the New Testament. In the King James Version a word in Rom. v. 11 was translated "atonement," but in the Revised Version it is changed to "*reconciliation*," which is indeed the central principle of our faith, — the reconciliation of man to God.

that we must take whatever the Church teaches on faith; all revelation is committed to it; and he re-enforced what had been declared ever since the time of Tertullian, — that though what the Church teaches stultifies the reason, we must nevertheless accept it. This degradation of the reason has become a tenet of Evangelical Protestantism as well. The supporter of any illogical position takes refuge, when hard pushed, in the thought that what he upholds is a mystery and must be held in blind faith. That is why there are so many absurd and unreasonable things in the narrower phases of religion; thought and reason are barred out, as out of place amid sacred things. Saint Thomas Aquinas fortified the Church with a system of theology, in which all things of heaven and earth are supposed to be forever fixed and settled; there is to be no more inquiry on the part of men; the book of Revelation and the interpretation of it is forever closed and committed to the Church. This is the attitude of the greater part of the Christian Church to-day. It is an inheritance not of Christ or Paul, but of Thomas Aquinas. The present Pope of Rome, Leo XIII., wishes to take the world back to the theology of Saint Thomas, thinking that in it is the solace of all ecclesiastical woes, and the solution of all church difficulties.

We come now to the age of the Reformation. The Reformation had its beginning not in a doctrinal but in a moral impulse. If the Catholic Church had been as pure in Luther's time as it is to-day, there would have been no Reformation. Luther differed from the Catholic Church on only a few doctrinal points, and took most of the Catholic theology undiminished and unchanged. In 1530 was adopted the Augsburg Confession, consisting of fifteen articles, which stated the main points of Luther's theology, and which is to-day the foundation of the Lutheran Church of Europe and America. In his contest with the Catholics Luther was continually met with the

statement that they were right because they were acting on the authority of the *infallible church*, while he had no authority for his position. He then made the counter claim that his authority was the *infallible Bible*. The Catholics said it required an infallible interpreter; and then, for the first time in the Christian Church, the plenary verbal inspiration and infallibility of the Bible, with the right of private interpretation, were taught by the Protestant reformers as doctrines of Christianity, and were received by their followers as such. Luther was driven to this position by his sore need of an authority on which to stand. But he was very inconsistent in explaining and applying his view, especially where there was such a plain difference as that between the writings of Paul and James; and he injured the cause of religion in later and more critical times by confusing the ideas of inspiration and infallibility. We all gladly admit, yes, claim, that the truth of the Bible, where it appeals directly to the conscience and heart, is inspired; that is, it is the power of the Divine Spirit working on the souls of men. But inasmuch as the writers of the Bible were men, with their share of the errors, weaknesses, and ignorance that are the portion of every human being, some of their imperfections would inevitably creep into the sacred Book, and though inspired, it would not be infallible.

After Luther came Calvin (1509–1564), who at the early age of twenty-six brought forth his *Institutes*. He simply went back to Augustine, reasserting in a more logical and terrible form, if possible, the doctrines which (we have seen) were taught by the African Bishop, — of total depravity, predestination, endless punishment, and others. We can see how little Calvin originated, from the fact that professors in Calvinistic theological schools speak of Calvinism and Augustinianism as synonymous terms.

In the year 1552 Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, conceived the idea of framing a statement of belief with

which to combat the work of the Catholic Council of Trent, then in session; and he invited Calvin, Melanchthon, and other reformers to London for that purpose. They did not come; but Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with the aid of other divines, drew up forty-two "Articles of Religion" for the English Church. Soon after this Mary came to the English throne, and those chiefly instrumental in drawing up the forty-two articles lost their lives. Under Elizabeth the articles were restored, and in 1563 were reduced to thirty-nine; and in these we have the doctrinal foundation of the Church of England and of the Episcopal Church of America to this day. The framers of the Thirty-nine Articles drew largely upon the *Institutes* of Calvin for their theology; and that is why these articles are so strongly Calvinistic, affirming total depravity, election, and predestination.

In the year 1642, when the Puritan element was in the ascendency in England, was called the famous Westminster Assembly, which continued to hold sessions for five years (1643–1648). It produced two catechisms, the Larger and the Smaller, covering all questions of belief, church organization, and worship. These catechisms were approved by the Parliaments of England and Scotland, and are the foundation of the Presbyterianism of the world. The Westminster Assembly took its theology almost bodily from the *Institutes* of Calvin; and that is why the Presbyterian Church is so intensely Calvinistic.

After the accession of James the First, in 1603, the Puritans were so oppressed that many of them came to this country, bringing their Calvinistic theology, but choosing for themselves the Congregational form of church government. It was in the bosom of these Congregational Churches that Unitarianism, as we in America have received it, came to exist, simply by dropping the Calvinistic theology, — going back of Calvin, and back of his teacher, Augustine, to the Scriptures them-

selves and to our faith as it was held, we think, in the Christian Church of the Apostles.

Here, then, we have seen the growth of doctrinal Christianity from its first small beginning, — the statement that Jesus was the Messiah. To sum up the whole subject, and at the same time to show that the position taken is the true one, I shall quote the words of an eminent orthodox scholar, who teaches that of all the doctrines which now make up the theology of the Church, only one — the doctrine of the *Incarnation* or *God in man* — was believed and taught by the Greek Church, that is, the Church of the first three centuries; and that the doctrines whose origin we have traced are a growth of the Latin Church, are of a later age, and are irreconcilable with the spirit of the Early Christian Church. He says: "None of the individual doctrines or tenets, which have so long been the objects of dislike and animadversion to the modern theological mind, formed any constituent part of the Greek theology. The tenets of original sin and total depravity, as expounded by Augustine and received by the Protestant churches from the Latin Church, the guilt of infants, the absolute necessity of baptism in order to salvation, the denial of the freedom of the will, the doctrine of election, the idea of schism in the Divine nature which required a satisfaction to retributive justice before love could grant forgiveness, the atonement as a principle of equivalence by which the sufferings of Christ were weighed in a balance against the endless sufferings of the race, the notion that revelation is confined within the Book, guaranteed by the inspiration of the letter or by a line of priestly curators in apostolic descent, the necessity of miracles as the strongest evidences of the truth of a revealed religion, the doctrine of sacramental grace and priestly mediation, the idea of the Church as identical with some particular form of ecclesiastical organization, — these and

other tenets which have formed the gist of modern religious controversy find no place in the Greek theology and are irreconcilable with its spirit." [1] This surprising and sweeping statement is the verdict of the scholarship of Christendom.

And now in closing I should like to call the attention of the reader to several points. Notice that after the first three centuries the central truths of our faith are not so prominent as the questions over which theologians disputed. Notice that down through the debates of Nicæa, down through the doctrinal discussions of Augustine, down through the disputes of the Middle Age, down through the time of Calvin, of the Thirty-nine Articles, and of the Westminster Assembly, and through all the endless controversies of the Christian centuries, — notice that through all this we hear very little of the gospel of love, very little of the Fatherhood of God, very little of the Brotherhood of Man, very little of the glad tidings which Jesus came to proclaim to the world. All this, the heart of our faith, is subordinated to scholastic questions, is lost to view in the dust and noise of theologic dispute; and the great growth we have witnessed is foreign to its nature.

Notice, too, that the preachers of orthodoxy, in upholding their position, do not go back to the fountain-head of Christianity, but to some one or something later, — to the Westminster Catechisms, or to the Thirty-nine Articles, or to the Augsburg Confession; and these again go back to Calvin or some other similar authority, and he to Augustine, who in turn went to the world of sin around him, and the sin which had been in his own heart before he became a Christian; all going back to some man, or council, or condition of things, instead of to the gospel of love and the glad tidings as it was in Jesus.

[1] A. V. G. Allen, "Continuity of Christian Thought," 19, 20.

Verily, it is plain, that this great growth of the Christian Church sadly needs pruning, that its rich life may not be exhausted in all these ways which are not native to it, but which are a foreign growth and an ecclesiastical burden.

At the same time, the Church has put forth many fair branches that have borne a heavenly fruitage: the beautiful hymns that each age delights to sing, which always find hearts in which to nestle and tongues that love to give them voice; the uplifting prayers that have sprung from noble souls, and so well express the needs and aspirations of countless other souls; the religious books that are the comfort and solace of many a lonely hour; the noble temples that adorn the earth; the exalted lives which found their strength in the gospel; the Christian characters, the saintly records, inspired by the life of Christ; the charities, the philanthropies, the reforms, the high endeavors for humanity, which are the direct results of his teachings and spirit. All these are realizations of the truth of the gospel, and are born of the very life-blood of the New Testament. These are the flower and the fruitage of our faith; and there is so much that is beautiful and holy in the Christian Church, because there have been so many souls that rose above the level of the doctors of the Church into that diviner realm into which our faith was meant to lift all mankind. These are the ways in which the glad tidings of Christ should grow, till nothing but the branches of faith, hope, love, and the blessings they will bring, spring from that gospel divine. Then it will indeed grow till it fills the heavens and the earth; it will bring peace on earth, goodwill to men; it will fill all with the life that has been the glory of the great souls of the Christian ages; and at last all nations will rest in the shadow of it, and be filled with the blessedness of the Kingdom of Heaven.

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In the love of the truth, and the spirit of Jesus Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man.

Our Declaration

(*As expressed in the By-Laws of the American Unitarian Association*).

"The object of the American Unitarian Association shall be to diffuse the knowledge and promote the interests of pure Christianity; and all Unitarian Christians shall be invited to unite and co-operate with it for that purpose."

(*As expressed by the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1894.*)

"These Churches accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man.

"The Conference recognizes the fact that its constituency is Congregational in tradition and polity. Therefore, it declares that nothing in this Constitution is to be construed as an authoritative test; and we cordially invite to our working fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our spirit and our practical aims."

THE JUDGMENT-DAY OF THE CHURCH.

Can we at all comprehend the time in which we are living? To me, the modern situation seems like a solemn judicial proceeding, — a day of judgment, when all human affairs, and we with the rest, are being put on trial, and are undergoing a searching inquiry. The Judge of mankind does not array himself in robe and wig and ascend a bench; he is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart; "all things are naked and open to the eyes of him with whom we have to do." But the proceeding is not less solemn, searching, and decisive because carried on informally; carried on privately, in the court of individual reason and conscience; and publicly, in the collective mental activity of our time, in the visible conflicts of principle and in the outworking of social results. For who does not see that what we call civilization is being put to proof, — that all established institutions and time-honored standards are under challenge? Nor is the tribunal less divine because it is set up in the human mind, and conducted by human faculties. "It is the Lord's doing; and it is marvellous in our eyes."

The test of an iron girder or a stick of timber is, how much weight will it carry; how much strain will it stand? The test of a factory is, what quality and quantity of products does it turn out? The test of an athlete may be, how much can he lift, or how far and fast can

he run? Heart, brain, lungs, every organ and fibre, are tested by the daily demand for endurance and performance. So are principles and institutions tried by experience and by their fitness to human nature and need. Our educational systems and methods must submit to be tested by the kind of men and women they produce; our political institutions by the amount and kind of liberty and benefit they procure for the people. The people themselves must answer for the wisdom and justice of their laws, and their loyalty to those laws; they must prove their capacity for self-government and for intelligent co-operation in promoting the common welfare. And the stuff of every man's and woman's character is continually tested by the life-trial, as gold is tried by the fire. Always we are before the all-viewing judgment-seat; always the books are open; always, whether they know it or not, the living are judged out of the things written in the books, according to their works.

But the standard of moral judgment is adjustable to changing conditions. With every increase of intelligence and ability comes increase of responsibility. In this wide process of human evolution, we are carried up to new planes of possibility, and therefore of duty; for where much is given, there will much be required. Thus come critical periods in history, — awful days of reckoning, — when thought, feeling, and conduct, and their organic expression, must be adjusted to higher standards as the only escape from degeneracy and decay, or from personal and social damnation. Then, whether we will or not, we are all summoned before that judgment-seat of Truth, which is the bar of God. Then, on the dome of the sky, as on a mighty bell, a new hour strikes for the world.

I must speak of *the present religious situation* as one of high and pressing judicial inquiry. Our sacred institutions, authorities, beliefs, and methods, are being

brought to trial, — brought to trial both in the private mind and before all Israel and the sun. "The time is come for judgment to begin at the house of God."

The sacred books, the doctrines, the church, the ministry, the religious ideals, standards, and customs, must all undergo impartial, passionless, thorough scrutiny. On the threshing-floor of the world, through the so-called Christian ages, have accumulated vast heaps of wheat and chaff; and lo! there comes a Mighty One, a majestic Spirit of Truth, whose winnowing-fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly clear his floor; his wheat he will gather into his garner, the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.

This discriminating or judging process goes everywhere and reaches all human concerns. "God will search Jerusalem with a lighted candle," said a Hebrew prophet; meaning that the All-Seeing would look into every corner. To deal with the spiritual condition of a people is to deal with their entire life, — ecclesiastical, civil, social, literary, educational, industrial, domestic, personal; nothing escapes; for to touch the heart is to touch every organ and tissue.

Such a judgment-day comes with every increase of light. For the light makes manifest our imperfections, and compels us to condemn them, or to do worse and become worse. "For judgment I am come into the world," said Jesus. The light which came with him revealed the incompleteness of the old order and the possibility of a better one. It compelled men to choose whether they would remain in the bondage of the form and the letter, or rise into the light and liberty of the spirit. It compelled a new valuation of all things; things long held as precious were shown to be inferior or worthless, while things long despised were seen to be precious in the sight of God.

Away went temple and priest; the gods of Olympus

scampered off to oblivion; the idols were sent to the curiosity-shop; the gorgeous old worships with their oracles and litanies, their pomps and processions, their painted scenes and stage properties, were swept into the rubbish-heap. Was it so sad that the fires went out on ten thousand altars? No, the sky was left clear of their blinding smoke, and men of humble heart looked up and saw the face of the Father. "The fair humanities of old religion" gave place to a broader brotherhood; the profitable and oppressive monopoly of spiritual functions and the trade in sacrifices vanished before a faith which made every man a priest of the Most High; and as the old Jerusalem perished, there were visions of a new Jerusalem, coming down from heaven.

Eighteen centuries ago great judgments and transformations were accomplished through divinely human agencies and through an increase of spiritual light: what may we look for to-day? Has there not once more been a great increase of light? "*Whatsoever doth make manifest is light.*" The proof of increasing light is increasing clearness of vision; and certainly nothing looks to us as it did to a former generation. *Imperfection* has become manifest and glaring, — imperfection in our traditional faith and practice, and in the evidence on which that faith has rested. The light has made plain to many eyes the incompleteness of Protestantism as well as of Romanism; of Unitarianism as well as of Orthodoxy; it has made it impossible for multitudes to retain their reason or their honesty, and still to think and feel, or profess and act, as their fathers did.

"God is light," said a Christian apostle. "God is a sun," sang a Hebrew poet. "Walk in the light, and ye shall not stumble," said Jesus. No matter how or whence light comes, it is God's revelation; it is commanding; it brings every work to judgment.

This modern light, which shines in our minds and illu-

minates the whole field of religious thought; this increase of rationality, which is like more abundant life; this wider and exacter knowledge of human history and of natural law, — shall we call it a flash from the pit, or shall we devoutly recognize it as our heaven-sent guide? And if that light shines in our own minds and enables us to *judge* more wisely, and thus to correct and amend our ways, must we not take heed lest the light within us become darkness? By that light we must approve or condemn all that we have called sacred, as well as all that we have called secular.

What if geology shows us that the world is older than the Hebrews thought? What if astronomy shows us that the ancient conception of the universe, with this little earth for its centre, was a natural but childish mistake? What if the old arguments for miracle and the whole theory of supernaturalism should break down under honest scrutiny of the evidence? What if better acquaintance with history lets us see the growth of Jewish and Christian myths as plainly as we can trace those of Greek and Roman? What if this sublime and unequalled collection of ancient writings is found, on closer scrutiny, to reflect the errors as well as the wisdom and inspiration of its authors? What if the appeal to the authority of an infallible book, or of an infallible church, is met by reasonable proofs that no such infallibility exists? — Must we close our eyes to the increasing light, for fear of offending the Father of lights?

"This is not an enlightened age," said Lessing; "but an age *becoming* enlightened." After long, dark days and nights of rain, when the wind veers northward, and rends the storm-cloud without clearing the sky, men look up and see the blue through the rifts; but they see also the broken, drifting masses of gray, edged with silver and gold, yet neither gray nor blue holding any fixed place or shape. They say, "It is not clear, but it will

be." Thus, throughout Christendom, is the modern mind passing through a period of uncertainty and suspense, — a period of conflict between its own broken, shifting traditions and its interrupted glimpses of some vaster background of truth and world-reality. When a morning wind of free inquiry arose, the clouds of doctrine, which had long obscured our spiritual skies, began to break and scatter; and though nothing is yet clear or settled, many watchers have caught hints of an infinite realm of light and cosmic order, stretching in calm serenity above and beyond the low-down, shut-in, and wavering firmament of theology. Amid the confusion, some cry in alarm, "What will be left, if we lose our blessed clouds!" while others answer, "The things that cannot be shaken will remain!"

How like a blazing day of judgment the light of truth is exposing the elements of unreality and misconception in our religious thought and belief! Fiction and delusion have been clothed with beautiful forms and set to music. Words and phrases of sweet and solemn sound have played tricks with our imagination; and base metal has passed for coin current, because stamped with some *fac simile* of the royal image and superscription. Under all manner of sacred disguises, human errors and follies have been accepted as divine gifts and requirements. Become religious, and you are in the ark of safety. Range yourself under any banner that bears the sign of the cross, and you pass for a disciple of Christ. Call him "Lord! Lord!" and it shall be counted for righteousness. Enroll your name among professors, and it will be found at last in the book of life. Yet the sharp-eyed men of the world know well enough that —

> "A man may cry 'Church! Church!' at every word,
> And have no more grace than other people;
> The daw 's not reckoned a religious bird
> Because he keeps a-cawing in the steeple."

It is becoming plain that religions are of all grades, — good, bad, and indifferent. There is a religion which spoils a man for all good uses in this world in pretending to fit him for another. There is a religion which turns one's eyes toward the sky so that he does not mind where he is stepping, nor have quite wit enough to understand another man's rights. There is a religion which is all profession and no practice, or all doctrine and no duty. There is a religion which is like spiritual fever and chills: it merely raises the temperature of a man's emotions, and then leaves him to cool off, — a little worse for every fit. There is a religion which is like nightmare, filling the mind with phantoms, working confusion of thought and paralysis of all natural faculties and feelings. And there is a religion — oh, how much of it! — which is merely play-acting and make-believe, a pretty drama of music and prayers, a merry-go-round, or a solemn-go-round, in an easy groove of outward observances which bring us to the same place, — a buzz of ceremony forgotten at the church door, and which might be as harmless as other parlor theatricals, if it did not cheat us into the idea that we were doing something to please God and save our souls.

When all this religiosity comes to the light of judgment, or to the inspection of an enlightened judgment, we are compelled to ask, What is it worth? What can it do for us? Can God or man accept it as a substitute for spiritual worship, for reasonable thinking, or for faithful living?

This day of judgment is also compelling us to scrutinize whatever may hide itself under the word "Christian" — a word which has long been the convenient and respectable label for a thousand forms of error and evil. If any plausible absurdity could get itself accepted as "a mystery of faith;" if any piece of bigotry or despotic usurpation could screen itself behind a text; if any pious

pretence or smoothfaced hypocrisy could produce a certificate of baptism, — a large part of the Christian world seems to have resented any attempt to expel or expose the offender, as an impious attack upon the sanctuary. Think what tyrannies and terrors, what heathenisms and fanaticisms, have found and still find shelter under the Christian name! It is this profanation of holy things, this desecration of the human soul, this atheistic disparagement of nature and reason, this adulterous mixture of sanctities and frivolities, this intrusion of worldliness into the holy of holies, this compounding of the bread of life with ecclesiastical sawdust, — it is this which has produced the modern religious crisis and made it necessary that judgment should begin at the house of God.

What if most of what we call our faith and worship — Catholic or Protestant, Orthodox or Liberal — be diluted with some measure of these wide-spread insanities and imbecilities, all alike covered and consecrated by sacred names? Is it not a merciful judgment which compels us to face the situation, so that religion itself may be purified, and the mind of man emancipated from its time-hallowed follies?

The church is thus summoned to the confessional and to the inquest of truth. What has it to offer to the demands of human intelligence, and to the hunger of mankind for reality, beauty, goodness? What power has it to enlighten and inspire, to win and lead the awakened and uneasy multitudes, or to arouse and direct the unawakened? What power to restrain the debased and violent, to heal the hurts of society, to shame the selfishness and hush the strifes of classes, to rebuke unbrotherly greed and to clear the obstructed ways of welfare for the masses? These are sober, earnest questions; they must be answered. The day of the Lord shall be heavy upon all that is spurious and irrational, upon all

the proud and haughty, upon all cowards and pretenders and liars, upon all men and measures that cannot bear the light.

Yet is this day of judgment not merely a day of doom; it is a day of new opportunity and of glorious hope. Every critical period is a call of progress — an hour of new departures. For the increasing light, which exposes our imperfections and mistakes, shows also the higher ideal and the upward path. The New challenges the Old because the time is ripe for change. As Emerson teaches, "The existing order has a right to be until we can develop moral force enough to put something better in its place." Mere criticism, however necessary, is the smallest part of a true reform. Moral progress is an up-hill business. If there is a true conservatism which blocks the wheels behind to save us from going backward, there is a false conservatism which blocks them in front to hinder advance. So if there is a true radicalism which would root out whatever is wrong and hurtful, there is also a false radicalism which like a swine makes havoc of the fairest plants in the garden of humanity. If Zion is to be "redeemed with judgment," we must distinguish between the spirit which loves to destroy and the spirit which destroys only to make room for better construction.

"He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." The modern test of our religious work must be found in its fitness to modern needs. Does it mean life? Does it represent *movement?* Does it permit and promote human completeness? Does it make for progress along all the lines of development, and so harmonize all elements and interests by keeping them abreast of each other? Does it take the command, and give upward direction to the whole of life, and thus make itself identical with God in nature and God in humanity, as the force behind evolution?

Do the churches respond to this high calling? No matter how brave or patriotic the soldier, if there comes a time when he hears the order to advance, and yet stands still in his tracks, he might as well beat a retreat or desert his flag. For a church to stand still is really to go backward. To disobey orders, or to be too sleepy or too stupid to understand orders, is itself backsliding, — the beginning of apostasy. It means a check to inspiration, a chill at the heart, and weakness of the hands.

The type of piety approved in former centuries has become wellnigh impossible. It smelled of the tomb; it turned its face away from this world; it knew very little of God's work in nature, of its order and beauty; it disparaged all natural affections and sentiments and treated them with suspicion; it was blind to the perpetual revelation of God in reason, and taught man to look for the law of life outside of life itself. To that type of piety we cannot go back; let us take the divine hint and go forward to something better.

In stripping us of so much that encumbers and obscures, the righteous and merciful Judge is compelling us to see that *we have no room and no use for any religion apart from life, or completeness of being.* If a man's life is whole and full; if at any given stage he is just as complete a man as he can be, — is not the will and plan of his Creator realized?

Where is a man to keep his religion? Ask as well where he keeps his bodily health. In the medical books, in the doctor's office, in the drug-store, in the gymnasium? Let these serve as they may, his health must be in his own frame, — its fountain in his own heart, its play along his own nerves.

No more can a man keep his religion in a church, in a doctrinal statement, a profession, a Sunday, or a sacrament. His religion is the health of his being. To be real and vital it must be in himself; it must be the spirit

or principle which inspires and orders his life; else he has no religion. Look not here, nor there; for behold the kingdom of God is within you; and within you is the King and the law. Sharper than a two-edged sword is that judgment of truth which divides religion from all external or internal substitutes for it; solemn as a voice from the Throne is the sentence that condemns all the usurping authorities of church or book, of creed or ritual, when these are set above the law written in the heart of man.

But the same judgment gives sentence against *the shallow and shortsighted folly which supposes that spiritual life, health, and growth can be maintained without the use of rational means.* The soul, like the body, finds its completeness only when its *relations* are complete; and spiritual functions, like physical ones, require sustenance from their proper supplies. Church and book, prophet and priest, doctrine and form, observances and disciplines, — all have their place in the large order, as channels of endlessly circulating benefit, if we will accept them as helps, without servility or cowardice. The moment they set themselves above criticism, they come between us and the light. We should choose between them as freely as between other divinely given products and tools, and hold them subject to improvement as we do our dietetics and cookery.

Who does not know and value the help that may come from a noble book, a wise discourse, a reasonable conversation, an illustrious life, an example of heroic virtue? Or from private exercises of mind, heart, and hand, directed toward getting and giving the fine benefits of truth, beauty and goodness? Or from stated seasons of study, reflection, self-discipline, aspiration? The aids to faith, hope, and love, are largely found outside ourselves, as our breakfasts and dinners are; and like these they must be taken in and assimilated and made our

own. The sages and seers of old times and new, having been patient pupils, have become our teachers; their words are like those of the ancient sibyls, "simple, unadorned, unperfumed, and reaching through the ages, because of God."

> "Ever their phantoms rise before us,
> Our noble brothers, but one in blood;
> By bed and table they lord it o'er us,
> With looks of beauty and words of good."

As Lowell says, "There is but one thing better than tradition: that is, the original and Eternal Life, out of which tradition arose." It is a lean and pallid liberalism which throws away the costly gains of history, and the painfully gathered wisdom of experience; which finds no use for customs and institutions that have been fashioned by the need and the suffering of ages. Evolution means continuity of growth, the shedding of the outgrown and useless, but the retention of all that is vital. "Keep what you get, and get what you can;" such is the law of progress.

To this law religion must conform, along with science, art, and social order. *We must have a religion which will encourage us to keep getting*, filling us with hope and working faith. Never was the Wise Power busier than now; never more generous and communicative. Thanksgiving and praise for the light of to-day, which not only exposes our errors and evils, but also shows new forms of truth and good, for the enrichment of all brave, docile, and obedient souls!

> "There 's new life in the seed: sow and believe!
> Clearer dew did not glisten round Adam and Eve;
> Never bluer heavens nor greener sod
> Since the round world rolled from the hand of God."

But the light of to-day impeaches a religion which has failed to charm men with a sense of their common human-

ity, — a religion which deludes them with the vain belief that they can love God without loving the neighbor. The contempt of class for class, the ugly rivalries of sects and parties, the scanty welcome given by the churches to the poor, the conflicts of capital and labor, the havoc of intemperance and sexual disorder, — how could these continue to infest and afflict society unless the curative streams of wisdom and love were choked in their channels by our want of spirituality, and by the low and poor forms in which we present the high things?

We have tried the religion which teaches that God was manifest in the flesh of one divine man; we have not found it false, but inadequate; for our poor interpretation has made hundreds of millions believe in the sonship of Jesus without catching the hint that God is equally the Father of all, and that all men are brothers. We have tried the religion which teaches us to see God in the events and records of great ages gone by; we have not found it false, but inadequate; for it has not made us aware that the place whereon we stand is holy ground, and that these also are the years of God's right hand. We have sung praises and built tombs to prophets, apostles and martyrs; we have fixed our gaze on the dead Christ hanging far back there on the Roman cross; but who has taught us to see the divine light in the faces of the men, women, and children whom we meet every day, and to find the way of life and salvation in the right use of common opportunities? We have fumbled everywhere in the past for "evidences" of God's existence, and of the divine mission of Moses and Jesus; we have ransacked history, dug open the graves of dead cities, deciphered anonymous scriptures and inscriptions, and put language and logic to the torture; we have sat lowly at the feet of sages and seers and scribes; we have peeped and pried at all possible or impossible openings into the

unseen realms which we have named heaven and hell, — and yet we go uncertain and forlorn, our questions not answered, our way not clear, our hurts not healed.

Ceasing to depend on these glorious hearsays as ends or finalities, suppose we begin where we are, and *accept life itself as its own evidence, and as the key to all else, past, present, or to come.* To find God-with-us, here and now; to see the Father revealed in his own child; to trust and use the vast resources of wisdom, and love, and power, to which we have instant and constant access, — is not this the secret and method of Jesus? Is it not the interpretation of all that is, and all that has been? To find spiritual meaning in the passing hour, and to accept our daily experience and present task as a part and sample of the order of Providence — is not this the true way of salvation? What else can rescue our life from blindness, disorder, and profanation?

Our religion must stand convicted of incompetency till it shall enthrone at the centre of our being and in society the Power which is enthroned in the universe — an inward principle of wisdom and love, at once divine and human, which shall subdue all things unto itself. Such a religion will give us a sense of sanctity, by teaching the divine origin, rational value and wise use of all our faculties, relations, and interests.

When the dealer behind the counter and the customer before the counter can read in each other's eyes something better than the coarse greed to give less or get more than a dollar's worth for a dollar, then trade will become a sacrament of fellowship. When politics shall turn to the intelligent study and practice of social justice and of the conditions of well-being for all, then will God be vitally in the constitution; then caucus and convention, legislation and administration, will be so many methods of doing his will on earth as it is done in heaven. When education shall seek the completeness and symme-

try of human faculties and their training for unselfish uses, then will every form of toil be emancipated from dishonor, and a good day's work will help like a prayer; then will society go out of this hideous business of producing paupers and criminals, lunatics and imbeciles. When our knowledge of the laws of health and material well-being shall be reverently accepted as a part of divine revelation, then will the body become a temple of the Holy Spirit, and the earth will float among the stars as a part of God's heaven. Then will the pulpit exhort us to a noble worldly-mindedness as one of the means of grace; and we shall find open door-ways to the wide spirit-realm in the right knowledge and use of the things that are seen, — not as finalities, but as divine provisions for our primary education as spirits. The religion which makes room for all forms of good will teach a man to find the path to heaven by minding his own business.

Outside of all these imperfect churches, and partly inside, there is a vast world of unspiritual men — a world lying in wickedness and groping in darkness — a world which ignores alike the divine and the higher human — a world where multitudes deny and mock and blaspheme. Let no man dream of finding in unbelief or indifference a shelter from the solemn judgment of truth and righteousness. If that judgment spares no folly or fault of those who are weakly trying to find and follow the path of life, how shall they escape who wilfully or carelessly walk the other way? In all God's universe what place or state can there be where any soul may hope to pass for other than it really is, or to win any blessing of spiritual being except through being spiritually alive? "If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself; or if thou scornest, thou alone shalt bear it."

There is one word for ourselves — for our household of religious Liberals. We are not in court merely as witnesses, nor as prosecuting officers, nor as idle spectators

of these high proceedings. We are present before God and our brethren, to answer for ourselves. What is our part in this mixed scene of moral order and disorder, this conflict of truth and error, of good and evil? Let us search and try our ways, and lay our hearts and our lives, as well as our churches and our pulpits, open before the tribunal. Are we offering to mankind anything better than that which we criticise in others? Are we using our great opportunity to testify with lip and life, for a religion more reverent, reasonable, practical, fraternal, and progressively pure and real? Unless we can exhibit something more positive and constructive, — something better than theory, — unless we can show truth and goodness made alive in an improved and improving type of men and women, — what do we more than others? If our standard is really higher, all the more sternly must we hold ourselves to it. Let us welcome every reproof; let us rejoice in every disclosure of our own weak points; let us accept every judgment as a mercy. Studying to broaden ethical culture into total culture, let us make our churches centres of that best life which spiritual evolution has now made possible.

And if this nobler type of religion is to be cultivated, it must be planted — first, in our own hearts and homes; next, in our communities and towns. We must plant it as truth in all the open minds we can reach; must plant it, as we plant schools, in the form of fitting institutions, that it may become a power in the land. Not in the interest of a sect, but in the interest of humanity. Having put into the great words God, Man, Religion, that deeper and richer meaning which insight and experience warrant, we must put that meaning into life, into our own life, and into the life of our people and our time. We must plant in faith and hope, as the husbandman sows his acres, trusting to the vitality with which God endows the seed.

The closing word shall be one which not only hints the sad secret of our small harvests in the past, but points the way to better results in the future, if we will have it so: "He that soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he that soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully."

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"IS NOT THIS JOSEPH'S SON?"

With the text, "They wondered at his words of grace, and said, 'Is not this Joseph's son?'" I propose to consider the Unitarian's faith in Jesus, and approach in so doing a truth which is to us of sublimest meaning, yet that for allegiance to which we endure most reproach. The character of Jesus, his personality, Unitarians regard as the inestimable heritage of the world; and we think the greatest injury that comes from wrong doctrines concerning Jesus' nature, is that they impair the true image of that character. Unitarians recognize in Jesus Christ, not the second person of the Trinity, incarnate in a human soul, but the life of a perfect man in communion with God's will. Our short formula is, "Jesus by his word and life proved human nature to be divine." Jesus is that Son of the Father and brother of all mankind, who of moral right can hold the loving discipleship of the whole human race, and under whose leadership chiefly God is uplifting the entire world. The inspiration and immense impulse given to the world in the life of Jesus we believe to have been, primarily and always, the faith, the belief in his real humanity, — the faith that all he said, did, suffered, and aspired to, is a human experience, a human discovery of the riches of goodness, love, and truth in God by the channel of obedience and filial trust. And why do we emphasize this truth? Why do we resist a statement of the nature

of Jesus which separates him from essential humanity? I pass by, for the present, the evidences which are found in his own words and the express spirit of his life. There is evidence enough in plain Scripture, if we but read it without prejudice; but I now rather would seek the reasons based on the very consciousness in you and me, and the unity of the universe in which we are. Does not the unity of the universe require us to believe that all moral and spiritual growth is alike? For example, in physical things the unity of nature brings us the conviction that the law of gravitation is one, its formula and method the same in Sirius as on our earth; and the spectrum of the light of Sirius — light which takes three years to travel here — evidences the same laws of chemistry and optics which affect matter in our laboratories. Faith in the unity of law is the absolute postulate or basis of all science. Is there no such unity of law in spiritual life, in questions of identity, consciousness, merit or demerit, will and reason? Must not goodness, in order to be goodness, always have the same quality of growth, overcoming the limitations of sense, subduing temptation, asserting the will in noble choice? Now Jesus' life, in the Gospel, is a record of such a growth, choice, and victory. Does not its very ground of approval, however pre-eminent he was, consist in the fact that it was life under the same conditions, the same laws, as other human life? May we not go further, and say that the very honor of Jesus' pre-eminence is due, because his was life under the same conditions and laws as other human life? But suppose, as has been the deep error of Christian history, that we assert a different law for the life and growth of Jesus' character. Suppose that we assert that his very nature was altogether different from yours and mine. What if we claim a superinduced nature, — the Godhead indwelling,

not by a law of possibility which applies to human nature as such, but only in Jesus, constituting him infinite God and man; then what becomes of *character* in Jesus, and of his whole experience? Is it any longer really like man's, or can it throw any light on human destiny and human nature as such? By the very terms of such a definition of Jesus must not human consciousness in any man be a different thing and supply a different problem of existence to that of Jesus? When we dismiss mechanical ideas of salvation; when we believe with the Apostle, who said, "Be not deceived, he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as Christ is righteous;" when we recognize no other law of the universe for goodness than becoming good, must we not then believe Jesus' experience to be *veritably like ours*, and under the same conditions, if indeed that experience is to help us? For help us it only can through the avenues of faith and confidence, inspiring our own moral purpose, awakening aspiration prophetic to every man of the things God has prepared for those who love him. But if Jesus' essential nature was different in kind from that of those he called his brethren and whom he invited to be children of God, if while he so called on us to be like himself he knew there was a distinction as wide as the universe between his life plan and that of any other man, what a mockery his invitation becomes! *As though an eagle should invite a blind worm to fly!* Do you not perceive that in the instant in which you set up such a difference as a supposed glorification of the Christ, the real Jesus is lost, his saving example is gone?

And having lost his real example, there was left to the church a new problem, — to show how Christ shall save men; and the answer soon provided was a doctrine of substitution. Jesus as man and God, says theology, saves us by *imputing* his righteousness to us. What else was left

but that? According to the scheme, human nature was a failure; God came on earth as a man, and lived a perfect life, then somehow, in dying, agreed to impute his "God righteousness" to any one who will accept it! If you will but think seriously, righteousness and badness are things that cannot come by substitute; the consequences of good or evil may fall on others, but character, — think candidly, — how can that be "imputed;" how can one be righteous except as he has been and done *right*? See how inextricable a web of unreason the system of substitution leads to! And all to adjust us about the supposed fixed point that it is impossible for man as such, for human nature *per se*, and under the orderly grace of God, to begin the life of righteousness and grow in goodness. But what if we reverse all this, and see in *Jesus himself* the perfect human life, the proof that man can become Godlike, the realized type of humanity? What if we credit his own words when he called on his disciples to realize the same Divine Presence that he did; what if we credit him with the faith that the poorest form of sinful humanity still bears the divine image, and may arise and go to the Father! At one stroke are we not rid of the phantasm of imputed righteousness, and born into an almost incredible hope? Incredible indeed, had not Jesus believed it; incredibly incredible, had he not lived out his own faith, but as certain as the sun in heaven to him who interiorly apprehends Jesus and his gospel. He did indeed come to save mankind. He came to save us from scepticism, from unbelief in ourselves. He came to make discovery for us of the measureless treasure and dignity of the immortal soul, and he made this discovery for us by making it in himself. "Believe that you are a child of God, and live like one!" is his message. "All things are possible to him that believeth." Now, when we

read the story of Jesus thus, and realize it as a veritable human experience, he becomes the source of moral inspiration to the whole race. His method becomes the typical method. He is, in a profound and spiritual sense, the way, the truth, and the life. Believing in him as real, his experience is felt to be real, and it means something that stirs the very depths in us when he says, "Follow me."

Are we indeed created as Jesus in the very elements of our nature? Is God our Father *in the same sense* as He is his? Does the universe stand pledged by immutable law to answer to our faith in degree and kind as it did to his? Is the law of moral growth, of spiritual increase, the same for us as it was for him? Is the same law of exultant service, of companionship with God, of love like God's, given to us as an invitation, an allurement, that was given to Jesus? So we reverently, triumphantly believe. We believe it because Christ believed it; because it explains for us so much more than any other conception of the moral universe. We believe it because it is worthy of God. We believe it because, when once interiorly and lovingly apprehended, it is a truth immeasurably affecting and personal, drawing us, if I may so speak, to the very bosom of Infinite Love in an abandon of trust. That the God and Father of Jesus is our God and Father, ready in all the plenitude of a universe to be our lover and friend, is indeed an infinitely affecting truth.

And here it is that the right apprehension of Jesus' experience has vital significance. In a different tone from that of the Nazareth people we may ask the question, "Is not this Joseph's son?" Did not one of our mortal race find God so dear, so faithful, so true a lover? Did not one such grow from trust to trust, and receive the very fulness of the divine intent in man into his breast? And does he not tell me that his is in verity the path.

the law of the spirit for every one willing to enter it, and that the Father of the universe answers each trust and effort by the omnipotent laws of grace and help; that there is a heavenly conspiracy of Truth with the true, and of Love with the loving?

Tell me, friends, does not such a conception bring thoughts too deep for tears? For myself, under an inconceivable burden of gratitude and adoring reverence, I can say that it seems to answer to the very springs of my being. *It is a justifying faith.* I mean it adjusts itself so simply, so grandly to all else I know and see of the universe. It is interpreter of so much that dimly stirs my heart, and answers my thought, as I look out or in, upon the solemnity, the mystery of life. I exult to feel this conception of the religion, the experience of Jesus, fit to the unity of the universe. I exult with tenderest thankfulness, not with pride, to see this larger faith displacing the provisional one. It is rising outside of our body in the great minds of England, India, Germany, and America. I rejoice, and believe that Jesus rejoices in that hour, which is coming and now is, when the world shall enter upon the real meaning of his experience, and receive from it a springtide of moral enthusiasm masterful and passionately deep. I exult, yet as one humbled under the gift, that the trust of such a truth is committed in part to us, of the Spirit, in hope that as Jesus' ministers we may impart it to others. And I yearn for the day when our loved church throughout this land, when Unitarians in name, shall have awakened to all the meaning of this trust. Surrounded by the thick columns of Orthodoxy, driven in on ourselves, forced to a defensive attitude, fiercely watched and misinterpreted, our adjustment to a God-given mission has been, oh, so difficult, so warped to poor human weaknesses, and has fallen far short of the

inherent inspiration of conviction; not but that the record, humanly speaking, has had luminous places, and prophets and martyrs, but we have been cumbered, half emancipated, "dwelling in tents." Now "the city that hath foundations" is nearing us. There has been a transition period in which jealousy of ourselves, and fear of being misunderstood by others, held us back from preaching the person of Jesus as the rock of our faith. Many of our ministry, especially those who came to us from other folds, by a mental reaction were timid of using language so often abused, — the language of devoted faith and discipleship to Christ. That language our ministers forbore to use, because in the world's sense and hearing it was thought to mean their meaning. — an idolatrous one.

But we are nearing our own truth, apprehending it, and realizing that the person of Jesus of Nazareth, his *human personality, is the key and inspiration of our mission;* that we are called to be prophets in the new dispensation, new, yet eternal, and which was ever waiting for discovery, — the dispensation in which the "world is God's scripture, and His Son is Mankind;" a dispensation of which Jesus, truly apprehended, is indeed the great high-priest, the human Jesus, whom we may love and reverence forever, because he first made entire proof of our nature and found it like God's.

THE MAN JESUS

By Rev. John W. Chadwick

Size, 4 3-4 x 7; pages, 258; price, 75 cents *net;* postage, 8 cents.

AN endeavor, "with the help of many eminent scholars, to write a book which shall contribute something to a rational understanding of the human greatness of Jesus in the minds of those who have not the time or opportunity to read those voluminous writings in which the modern study of the life of Jesus has embodied its conjectures and results." The sources of information concerning Jesus and the general place and time of his career are carefully and fully examined, followed by a consideration of his youth and training, the development of his character and work. Subsequent chapters deal with Jesus as Prophet and Messiah, and finally with the questions of resurrection and deification. In simple, direct language, the grandeur of Jesus' humanity is here portrayed with warm sympathy and rare insight.

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Size, 4 1-2 x 6; pages, 175; price, cloth, 35 cents *net;* postage, 5 cents; price, paper, 25 cents *net;* postage, 4 cents.

THE seven following discourses were delivered in Washington, D. C., by invitation of the American Unitarian Association: I. The Universal and the Special in Christianity, by Rev. Frederic H. Hedge, D.D.; II. The Bible, by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D.; III. God, by Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., LL.D.; IV. Jesus Christ, by Rev. Brooke Herford; V. Man, by Rev. George W. Briggs, D.D.; VI. The Church: The Society which Jesus gathered, by Rev. Rufus Ellis, D.D.; VII. The Life Eternal — Heaven and Hell, by Rev. Samuel R. Calthrop.

These are expositions of distinctive Unitarian beliefs, expressing reverent love of God, abiding faith in humanity, sincere admiration of the human personality and noble example of Jesus. The polemical element is notably lacking from these discourses, while they are full of the spirit of moral earnestness that makes them appeal for a hearing to Christians of all creeds.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

25 Beacon Street, Boston

UNITARIANISM IN AMERICA

A History of its Origin and Development

By George Willis Cooke, Member of the American Historical Association, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Academy of Political and Social Science, etc.

Size, 5 3-4 x 8 1-2 inches; pages, 463; 21 full-page illustrations; price, $2.00 *net;* postage, 14 cents additional.

THE purpose of this work is to furnish a complete, impartial, and candid record of the origin and growth of American Unitarianism, with accounts of its organization, its progress, and its relation to all present-day movements for social and religious betterment, all of which is presented in "the true spirit of the historical method, without reference to local interests and without sectional preferences." Controversial treatment is thus happily avoided. The author has made long and thorough examination of original manuscripts and journals, as well as many magazines, newspapers, and printed reports of various kinds. The result has been to bring together into a single octavo volume of 475 pages much valuable material, heretofore to be found only in widely scattered sources, and a large array of facts not obtainable elsewhere. The volume is fully indexed, making all references to any one topic readily accessible. The book thus becomes a valuable reference work as well as a thoroughly readable and instructive history. It has been written with special reference to its helpfulness in explaining the Unitarian attitude and temper.

The opening chapters begin with the English Sources of American Unitarianism, followed by chapters upon the Liberal Side of Puritanism, the Growth of Democracy in the Churches, and the Silent Advance of Liberalism. Then follows the organization of the American Unitarian Association, and its various activities as the national executive organization of our churches are fully set forth. Chapters are given to the accounts of the Sunday School Society, the Boston Fraternity of Churches, the Women's National Alliance, the Post-office Mission, and other enterprises which mark the spirit of Unitarian endeavor. The relation of Unitarianism to philanthropy, reforms, education, and literature, receive special chapters of unusual interest. The closing chapter treats of the future of Unitarianism.

In addition to the text itself are twenty-one full-page half-tone portrait illustrations of prominent Unitarian leaders, including a frontispiece of Channing. These grouped pictures add not a little to the general interest of the volume.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION
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THE American Unitarian Association is the working missionary organization of the Unitarian churches of America. It seeks to promote sympathy and united action among Liberal Christians, and to spread the principles which are believed by Unitarians to be essential to civil and religious liberty and progress and to the attainments of the spiritual life. To this end it supports missionaries, establishes and maintains churches, holds conventions, aids in building meeting-houses, publishes, sells, and gives away books, sermons, tracts, hymn-books, and devotional works.

Tracts descriptive of Unitarian principles, doctrines, and methods, are sent free to any who desire to know what Liberal Christianity stands for and works for. A list of these free tracts will be sent on application. A full descriptive catalogue of the publications of the Association, including doctrinal, devotional, and practical works, will be sent to all who apply. All religious books by Unitarian authors are kept on sale, and will be sent on receipt of price. A list of such books, with prices, will be furnished upon request.

The Association is supported by the voluntary contributions of churches and individuals. Annual subscriptions of any amount are solicited. Address communications and contributions to the Secretary at his office, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. The following is the simple

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath to the American Unitarian Association, a corporation established by law in the State of Massachusetts, the sum of.....dollars.

Fourth Series.] [No. 78.

HOW TO DIE.

BY

REV. MINOT J. SAVAGE, D.D.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,
BOSTON.

Our Faith.

The Fatherhood of God.
The Brotherhood of Man.
The Leadership of Jesus.
Salvation by Character.
The Progress of Mankind,
onward and upward forever.

Typical Covenant of a Unitarian Church.

In the love of the truth, and the spirit of Jesus Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man.

Our Declaration

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HOW TO DIE.

Does it seem strange to any, perhaps incongruous, that on this June Sunday, in the midst of a growing world, where everything is thrilling with life, I should take for a topic a subject like "How to Die"? And yet the beauty of June, and the joy that our hearts feel in it, are not interfered with because we know they are to be followed by November; for we know that after the November there is to be another June. But, though there were to be no other June, yet, if we could so consider the subject of November as to take away something of the gloom and the shadow that are apt to haunt us in connection with the thought that all that is beautiful and all that we love must fade, even then a consideration of it might possibly add to the brightness of the day, might possibly help us even to enjoy more keenly the glory of spring. So, if I can take away, by any considerations that I may offer, something of the foreboding, something of the shadow, something of the dread of dying, may I not put it within your power to find even a sweeter, keener, more restful relish in those things of life that are so desirable, and that we clasp to our arms with such a tender sense of possession?

It is a purpose like this that I have in mind. We have inherited — I cannot go at any length into the causes of it — a series of fancies, of forebodings, of dark traditions, that surround the thought of the transition through which we must all pass from this life to what we hope is to be

another, that fill our minds with gloom. Death is figured to us under every possible aspect of horror. He is the shapeless, headless image, son of Sin and Satan who stands by the portal of hell, as Lucifer starts out on his journey in search of the new created earth. He stands there, gloating with the awful anticipation that his famine, his hunger for human life, by the ministry of sin and evil, is going at last to be filled. We have pictured death under the figure of skull and crossbones; we have made him a skeleton with scythe and hour-glass, and brandishing a dreadful dart; we have clothed him with all sorts of horrors, — until, at the very mention of his name, we think only of decay, of pain, of separation, of everything from which the loving heart as well as the living flesh shrinks.

Let us see if we can find some other way of looking at death, and try to discover what is the reasonable method of considering this inevitable fact in every human career.

Believing, as I do, that death is not the end of life, but only an incident in it, it seems to me pre-eminently fitting that I should close this series of sermons on "Helps for Daily Living" by a consideration of the question "How to Die."

At the outset, then, let us dwell for a little while on the alternative. If it were not death, since we are here, then what would it have to be? We shrink sometimes from a disagreeable fact without stopping to consider whether the alternative of that fact might not be something quite as disagreeable, if not more so. Suppose, for instance, that I could have conferred upon me at this moment the gift of physical immortality here on this planet, or the privilege of living here as long as the planet should endure: unless there were conferred upon me the gift of immortal youth at the same time, it would be something unspeakably horrible to grow old, decrepit, to find my faculties fading, one

after another, and still not have the power to die, not be able to rid myself of the growing burden of weakness and of pain.

But suppose, along with the gift of immortality, I should also have conferred upon me, and upon me alone, the gift of eternal youth. Then what? Why, then, it seems to me, the alternative would be hardly less endurable. I, indeed, might be young, with capacity and possibility of enjoyment, of a keen relish for the beauty of sky and the delights of earth; and yet I should pass through an experience, only intensified beyond expression, such as many who had not my prolonged existence on earth had passed through. One after another those I love would go, and I should find myself by and by with only half a dozen persons that I knew in my childhood or youth. Then there would be five, four, three, two, and then one; and at last I must see that one go and I be left alone, compelled to make new acquaintances, or else to wander like the Wandering Jew, one of the most grewsome and horrible imaginations of all ages, alone and homeless in the world, — to become an antiquated curiosity, the representative of a long-past age. Why, since the very meaning, the very heart and soul of life, is the companionship of people for whom we care, it seems to me that under these conditions any one of us would pray for death as he never prayed for life, — pray to go with a friend. Think me not irreverent when I say I would take my chances rather to go anywhere with a friend than to stay here under such conditions. Hell itself might be conceived of as endurable with a friend, yet not even heaven without one.

Take another supposition. Suppose all of us who are alive on earth could have immediately conferred upon us the gift of continued existence here on our planet. What then? Why, we would set all the bells ringing, we would be jubilant and glad for awhile. But let the years go on,

and by and by the world would become full, with no more room for any more people. Then no more marriages, no more homes, no more little children, none of the laughter and joy and wonder of childish lives growing up around our feet. A world full of grown people! But what next? After awhile, we would exhaust the planet: we would see everything that was to be seen, we would do everything that anybody could do, we would learn everything that anybody could learn, we would go through all experiences that anybody could understand or appreciate. And then what? Think of yourself snow-blocked at some way-station, and finding a small cottage or tavern where you could rest and keep warm and wait! Then think of yourself as compelled to stay there for an indefinite time! You would read all the books, you would do everything you could think of to pass away the time; but then a day would come when a prison even in exchange would be glad relief, so weary would you be of it all. So, I take it, that, even if we could have immortality here on these terms, we should become so weary of it at last that it would be unendurable. The only thing that could make such a dream as this bearable would be that in some way we might be endowed with faculties and powers to visit other planets, to visit other earths, to move through the deeps of space. But that, we know, would be physically impossible, clothed with such bodies as we now possess. It is conceivable scientifically, perfectly conceivable, that we might be endowed with faculties and powers adapting us to the doing of just this; but a necessary condition of that would be just this "horrible" thing that we call death. We must get rid of this body first, must be clothed upon with some other kind of body.

I cannot, then, think of any alternative to dying, as I consider it carefully and look over the world, that seems to me in the least attractive. So I am brought face to face with this question: If we believe in God, are we not

forced to the conclusion that, however we understand it or do not understand it, death must somehow be a good and blessed thing, and not an evil? If there be wisdom in this universe controlling and guiding it, then that wisdom knows best. If there be power, then that power cannot be hindered. If there be love, then that love desires the best. Such a being as that would not, could not, appoint to any of his children anything that in its nature was necessarily evil; and death has been appointed to every one of his children. It seems to me, then, that, if we cherish, if we dare fold to our hearts this trust, we must take along with it that which is its inevitable corollary, — the trust that death, also, is a good thing and not an evil thing.

I ask you to bear with me now while I consider a few of the things that have intensified the natural fear of dissolution.

One of the first things is an inherited tradition as to the origin and cause of death. One of the foolish and utterly baseless fancies of the Hebrews was that death came into the world as the result of sin; that, if Adam had not transgressed at the outset, then there would have been no such thing as dying. But we know that this is purely a fancy, and that death, whatever else we may think about it, is a natural and necessary incident of our career, created as a part of the original plan by the very One who preordained the fact of birth.

Death, then, is not a finality, not an end. We are not to think of it as a sign of the wrath of God, as his laying his hand upon us in the way of punishment. It is nothing of the sort. We have been haunted by this idea which we have inherited from the old theology. Some of us who think we are rid of the last shred of that old theology still have somewhere hidden away in brain or nerve the haunting images and shadows of this old idea. So, when we

think of death, we think of ourselves as perhaps criminals, under penalty, led into the presence of the judge to receive our sentence; and this suggests the prison, the scaffold, the black cap, and the execution. But these ideas belong to a conception of the universe, of the government of the universe, and our relation to God, which is utterly baseless.

Then it seems to me that we allow ourselves to be troubled in a way for which there is no foundation by the anticipation of pain as accompanying death. We talk about the struggle, the death struggle, the death agony, the last keen pain and anguish; and yet I verily believe that there is not a person here this morning who has not suffered, over and over again, a dozen, perhaps a hundred, times more than any one of you is ever likely to suffer in the process of death. Study and experience and watching by death-beds has convinced me of one fact, — I believe it to be a fact, I believe that almost every educated physician, as the result of wide experience, would agree with me, — that the act of death is generally painless. There is pain, there is suffering, in the disease that leads up to it; but there is suffering in those diseases from which we recover. There is a natural process of anæsthesia in the approach to the moment of death, so I believe that almost always it is simply falling asleep. Though we stand by the side of a friend who is dying, and watch the involuntary muscular movement, the contraction of the brow, the quivering of the lip, — signs that seem to us to indicate pain, — if we could really know, there is hardly a question that, in almost all cases, these movements are merely nervous, muscular, automatic, unconscious. They do not mean that there is any such suffering as we are apt to think. So I believe that in most cases we have suffered more a dozen times over, even in the dreams that have come to us in our sleep, than we shall ever suffer in dying.

Then is it not true that most of us are haunted by a sort of grewsome and uncanny fancy connected with the grave? I think I should be rendering humanity a service if I could only get these fancies, these imaginations, completely out of people's minds. My childhood was spent close by a cemetery, so that it was one of the most familiar objects of those days; but I know that I was always haunted with a certain imaginary horror in the thought of burial. Is it not true that sometimes we stand by an open grave and have a sense of suffocation, or smothering, at the thought that we sometime must be placed under the sod? And yet how shrewd in its humor as well as in its sense was that word of Socrates, who, when his friends asked him how they should bury him, answered, "Bury me in any way you please, if you can only catch me!" I do not expect to be buried. We have worn three, or four, or five, or six complete human bodies that are not ours now. Why not suffer from the thought as to what has become of them? They are buried somewhere, or passed into grass and flowers and trees. I do not expect to suffer any more from this one being buried than I suffer already from any one of them. Let us put away from us, then, all these artificial horrors and imaginations. I think this matter of burial is made a matter of peculiar fear by our still barbaric burial customs. I have no time to go into this subject now; but, if I had, I should have a good deal to say, a good many earnest protests to utter. I think in the matter of burial and the associations surrounding it we are not yet half civilized.

Again, we are haunted still, as Hamlet was, by the fear of that "something after death." What? If we believed, as we have been taught for centuries, that this life is only a probation, and that when we have crossed the dead line our conditions for good or ill are fixed forever, then, indeed, we might tremble. I wonder that those who hold

these ideas do not tremble more than they do. I remember persons who have come within the range of my pastoral experience in past years, who have been generally the noblest, sweetest, most refined, most sensitive persons, who carried a year-long horror in the thought that possibly the hope they cherished of the safety of their own souls was a mistake, so that they looked upon the thought of death with terror, lest they should wake up to find that the lurid cloud of God's wrath still overhung their souls. But we do not believe that any longer. We believe that the same God, the same law, the same right, the same wrong, the same possibility of going downward or going upward, that we find here, will be found over there.

I do not believe that there is anything, then, about death that in the least changes our characters, our natures, our possibilities, our tendencies, or sets us in any different relation to God, any more than there was about going to sleep last night and waking up this morning. Five minutes after death we are what we were five minutes before death; and it is the same God, the same universe, the same laws, the same conditions, the same possibilities there as here. Let us, then, put aside that haunting fear. If you are not afraid of to-morrow, then you ought not to be afraid of the to-morrow of death. The inexorable judgment, the conditions that attach to our characters and actions, which have followed us from birth until to-day, will follow us from to-day into to-morrow. One and the same law governs the matter of our passing into the next world, as we call it, and this.

But many liberals who have put that fear away are still haunted by another fear. I know many tender, loving souls who shrink from going out into that other life. Why? Because it seems to them like leaving a cosey home. Here is a bright fire, and we sit round it with

our friends. We can touch hands, we can speak to each other. There are associations and companionships here; and people shrink from leaving them, as they would shrink from being put out of such a home as I have pictured into the dark ways of the night, in a strange land, not knowing which way to go nor what the next step would be. So I think there are persons who dread going out into that great world alone. Who is over there? Whom shall we meet? What kind of a place will it be? It seems so desolate, so vast; and they turn from the thought, and rush clinging back to the friends here, as a frightened child rushes to grasp the skirts of its mother.

We must learn to trust. We lived before we became conscious of it. When we came into this world, we found ourselves in the hands of loving, tender care. I do not believe that a God who provides such a reception for us as we had here will leave us without as good a reception when we go away. All of us have friends over there. I hope they know all about it, and are getting ready for us. I believe, at any rate, that the infinite tenderness and care will guard us and help us. It seems to me that we need right here to get rid of our inherited notions as to the great gulf between life here and life over yonder. People have apparently thought that life, if there is to be one there, is utterly distinct and separate from this, unlike it. Why do you think so? Because we have our heads full of the pictures of traditional angels with wings. Is there any sense in thinking of people's wearing wings over there? It is utterly incongruous, a part of the mythology of the past, absurd on the very face of it. We think of them as dressed in long robes, until they suggest to us nothing but the ghosts that frightened our childish imaginations. Is there any reason for thinking of them in this way? Not in the least. We talk about cherubim and seraphim with faces so bright that we cannot look upon

them without being dazzled. Is there anything but poetry in that thought? Is a person spiritually better or morally higher by being turned into a being upon whom one cannot look with open eyes? Let us get rid of all these conventional notions, and think of the people over there as real folk, just like ourselves, just as human, just as real, just as companionable. I would not wish to go if I thought otherwise.

Let us, then, get rid of all these hauntings about Death as a spectre, and think of him as God's angel. What does angel mean? Merely a messenger, merely somebody sent on an errand, who need not be dressed in white nor ornamented with wings. To be a messenger is to be an angel.

I wish to close this part of my sermon by reading to you a suggestion of the kind of thought you should hold about death. It is by Mr. Edward Rowland Sill: —

"What if some morning, when the stars were paling,
And the dawn whitened, and the east was clear,
Strange peace and rest fell on me from the presence
Of a benignant Spirit standing near;

"And I should tell him, as he stood beside me:
'This is our Earth, most friendly Earth and fair;
Daily its sea and shore through sun and shadow
Faithful it turns, robed in its azure air.

"'There is blest living here, loving and serving,
And quest of truth, and serene friendships dear;
But stay not, Spirit! Earth has one destroyer, —
His name is Death. Flee, lest he find thee here!'

"And what if then, while the still morning brightened
And freshened in the elm the summer's breath,
Should gravely smile on me the gentle angel,
And take my hand, and say, 'My name is Death.'"

With this thought, then, as to what death is, I turn to consider for a moment a few things bearing on the method of getting ready to die. How shall we prepare for it?

I would not have you trouble your minds for one single instant with any of the old ideas as to getting ready for death. Dying is easy enough: it is living that I have found to be hard, — living ideally, nobly, truly. I find more trouble in living in one single day than I ever expect to find in dying.

What shall we do, then, in getting ready for death? The first thing — and a very commonplace thing it is — is to live rightly, healthfully; for a very large part of that which makes death hard, to our thinking, is the pain that precedes and accompanies it. A large part of the suffering that precedes and accompanies death, in most instances, is the result of our own careless or wilful breaking of the laws of health before we come to die. As Bryant sings of his old man, —

> "No chronic tortures racked his aged limb,
> For luxury and sloth had nourished none for him."

If we were perfectly healthy, I think the most of us would grow old and die as naturally as a leaf fades in the fall. It would be as quiet a process as the sunset. Most of the storm and trouble linked with it are the results of our own thoughts and words and deeds.

The second suggestion I would make is that we make up our minds to die but once, and to die all at once when the time comes, and not be twenty or thirty or forty years about it. I think the most of us die in imagination over and over again, and suffer a great deal more in the process than we shall in the actual fact when we come to face it. Suppose Damocles's sword is hanging over my head, and I know it. It is going to fall only once. I cannot prevent it, and I cannot reach it to take it down. I do not know when it is going to fall; but let me go about

my business. It does not concern me, since I cannot help myself. Let us leave that out of mind, and only see to it how we live; and the matter as to how we are to die will take care of itself.

Then, in the third place, I think that the sorrows that accompany death, and that we link with the thought of it, are sometimes keenest of all because we have done or said certain things, or if we had not done or said certain things, that touched the person who is gone. The keenest pang about the fact of death with a great many people, if they would unbosom themselves and tell the secrets of their hearts, would be certain remembrances. I did not speak such words as I ought to have spoken while my friend could hear me. I did not tell that friend how dear he was, how I loved him. I did not make him know how large a part of my life he was, how I depended on him. If I could only tell him now! If I had only told him then, it would have made his life so much brighter, so much cheerier. Or we remember bitter, spiteful words spoken, that we would give so much if we could take back; and we wonder if, even there on the other side, he remembers it. We wonder if it remains a tiny, bitter drop even in his cup of bliss.

The way, then, for us to get ready to die, as it seems to me, is to begin this minute — not thinking much about death, except as an inevitable fact somewhere in the future — to live just as we shall wish we had lived; speak to-day the words that we shall wish we had spoken if some friend dies to-day and goes beyond our reach; do the things we shall wish we had done; love so that the living shall understand our love. Let them know how much they are to us. Let them taste the sweet comfort of it as we go along.

Death is either one of two things. Let us for a moment consider it under its very worst aspect. If it is the end

of life, if none of those who have lived on this planet are living now, if we must join this great army of silence, then at the very worst it is only sleeping. It will not be pain. There will be no regret, there will be nothing. If not that, then it certainly is this other thing that I have spoken of and that I believe. And if it is that, then no words can overpicture it, no poet can oversing it, no music can oversuggest it. Why, sometimes I have such an intense feeling of curiosity about that other life! And yet I do not want to leave here until my time comes. But I am glad to think that, when I do leave here, I shall not go away beyond the possibility of knowing how this dear old world that I love so much is getting on. There is only one century that I would rather be an inhabitant of than the present one, and that is the next. I do not care to live in any one that is past, but I would like to see the next one. I would like to see how some of these movements that are going on will come out, — what will be the changes in the social, the religious, the political life; what the next step in discovery, in conquest, of this wonderful earth of ours will be. And, if the end is not eternal silence, I expect to know. I expect to keep the run of these movements, even if I go to some distant planet. If I am engaged in work that will take me to a distance, I will get the news, or I will come back again now and then and see for myself. If that theory is true, just think of it for a moment! How would you enjoy seeing gathered in some great hall to-day the company of all the immortals that have distinguished the history of our race by their physical, their intellectual, their moral, or their spiritual glories? How would you like to look upon the face of Shakspeare, to see if Dante has got rid of that sadness that he wore, to talk with Goethe, to hear the music of Mozart and Mendelssohn? If this theory is true, we shall meet all these: we shall find them, and so have in our

grasp all the past of the earth and watch the growth of all the future. No wonder that Socrates' mind kindled at the thought, and he said, "If this be so, then let me die again and again," — if this be the condition.

Such, then, being to my mind the best way of getting ready to die, I wish to close by reading to you a poem, the authorship of which I do not know, but which seems to state in beautiful words this attitude in which we ought to stand towards the question of death: —

"If I were told that I must die to-morrow,
That the next sun
Which sinks should bear me past all fear and sorrow
For any one,
All the fight fought and all the journey through,
What should I do?

"I do not think that I should shrink or falter,
But just go on
Doing my work, nor change, nor seek to alter
Aught that is gone;
But rise and move and love and smile and pray
For one more day.

"And, lying down at night for a last sleeping,
Say in that ear
Which hearkens ever, 'Lord, within thy keeping,
How should I fear?
And, when to-morrow brings Thee nearer still,
Do Thou Thy will.'

"I might not sleep, for awe; but peaceful, tender,
My soul would lie
All the night long; and, when the morning splendor
Flashed o'er the sky,
I think that I could smile, could calmly say,
'It is His day.'

"But if a wondrous hand from the blue yonder
Held out a scroll
On which my life was writ, and I with wonder
Beheld unroll
To a long century's end its mystic clew,
What should I do?

"What could I do, O blessed Guide and Master,
Other than this,—
Still to go on as now, not slower, faster,
Nor fear to miss
The road, although so very long it be,
While led by Thee?

"Step by step, feeling Thou art close beside me,
Although unseen;
Through thorns, through flowers, whether tempest hide Thee
Or heavens serene;
Assured Thy faithfulness cannot betray,
Nor love decay.

"I may not know, my God: no hand revealeth
Thy counsels wise;
Along the path no deepening shadow stealeth;
No voice replies
To all my questioning thoughts, the time to tell;
And it is well.

"Let me keep on abiding and unfearing
Thy will always,
Through a long century's ripe fruition
Or a short day's.
Thou canst not come too soon; and I can wait,
If Thou come late."

CHANNING'S NOTE-BOOK

Passages from the Unpublished Manuscripts of William Ellery Channing. Selected by his granddaughter, Grace Ellery Channing

Size, 4 3-4 x 7; pages, 110; price, 50 cents *net*; postage, 6 cents.

THE origin and character of this book add to the interest of the contents, in that the "Notes," of which it is made up, are from the unpublished manuscripts left by Channing. They have been carefully gathered, and are here given without revision or change of any kind. The desire to preserve their integrity has resulted in the retention of the incomplete sentences and abrupt constructions of the original, which were written for purposes of personal reference. This is more than atoned for, however, in the vigor and freedom of expression, and the entire absence of self-restraint, which bring one into closer touch with the characteristics of Channing's thought and character. The Notes are arranged in topics, under such headings as Society, Friendship, Fear, Duty, Inspiration, Woman, Life, Death, Destiny, Matter, Aspiration, Sensation, Memory, and many others. They are not at all theological in character or treatment, and for that reason they present in this form another and broader view of Channing himself.

THOUGHTS SELECTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF REV. WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D.D.

Compiled by Henry A. Miles

Size, 3 3-4 x 4 3-4; pages, 160; price, 30 cents *net*; postage, 4 cents.

A LITTLE pocket volume made up of many short passages from the writings of Channing, which condense into epigrams great thoughts, which put into aphorisms profound truths. This characteristic style of forcing a truth upon the mind of reader or hearer, together with the wide range of subjects which received Channing's attention, make this collection the condensation of a portion of a wealth of material far too ample for any single compilation. But the very richness of the source from which it is drawn pervades this small volume.

American Unitarian Association

25 Beacon Street, Boston

UNITARIANISM IN AMERICA

A History of its Origin and Development

By George Willis Cooke, Member of the American Historical Association, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Academy of Political and Social Science, etc.

Size, 5 3-4 x 8 1-2 inches; pages, 463; 21 full-page illustrations; price, $2.00 *net;* postage, 14 cents additional.

THE purpose of this work is to furnish a complete, impartial, and candid record of the origin and growth of American Unitarianism, with accounts of its organization, its progress, and its relation to all present-day movements for social and religious betterment, all of which is presented in "the true spirit of the historical method, without reference to local interests and without sectional preferences." Controversial treatment is thus happily avoided. The author has made long and thorough examination of original manuscripts and journals, as well as many magazines, newspapers, and printed reports of various kinds. The result has been to bring together into a single octavo volume of 475 pages much valuable material, heretofore to be found only in widely scattered sources, and a large array of facts not obtainable elsewhere. The volume is fully indexed, making all references to any one topic readily accessible. The book thus becomes a valuable reference work as well as a thoroughly readable and instructive history. It has been written with special reference to its helpfulness in explaining the Unitarian attitude and temper.

The opening chapters begin with the English Sources of American Unitarianism, followed by chapters upon the Liberal Side of Puritanism, the Growth of Democracy in the Churches, and the Silent Advance of Liberalism. Then follows the organization of the American Unitarian Association, and its various activities as the national executive organization of our churches are fully set forth. Chapters are given to the accounts of the Sunday School Society, the Boston Fraternity of Churches, the Women's National Alliance, the Post-office Mission, and other enterprises which mark the spirit of Unitarian endeavor. The relation of Unitarianism to philanthropy, reforms, education, and literature, receive special chapters of unusual interest. The closing chapter treats of the future of Unitarianism.

In addition to the text itself are twenty-one full-page half-tone portrait illustrations of prominent Unitarian leaders, including a frontispiece of Channing. These grouped pictures add not a little to the general interest of the volume.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION
25 Beacon Street, Boston

THE American Unitarian Association is the working missionary organization of the Unitarian churches of America. It seeks to promote sympathy and united action among Liberal Christians, and to spread the principles which are believed by Unitarians to be essential to civil and religious liberty and progress and to the attainments of the spiritual life. To this end it supports missionaries, establishes and maintains churches, holds conventions, aids in building meeting-houses, publishes, sells, and gives away books, sermons, tracts, hymn-books, and devotional works.

Tracts descriptive of Unitarian principles, doctrines, and methods, are sent free to any who desire to know what Liberal Christianity stands for and works for. A list of these free tracts will be sent on application. A full descriptive catalogue of the publications of the Association, including doctrinal, devotional, and practical works, will be sent to all who apply. All religious books by Unitarian authors are kept on sale, and will be sent on receipt of price. A list of such books, with prices, will be furnished upon request.

The Association is supported by the voluntary contributions of churches and individuals. Annual subscriptions of any amount are solicited. Address communications and contributions to the Secretary at his office, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. The following is the simple

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THE REAL JESUS.

WHAT THINK YE OF CHRIST? — Matt. xxii. 42.

WE are sometimes asked whether if Jesus of Nazareth were now to appear among us, teaching as he taught almost two thousand years ago, there is the smallest likelihood that he would be received and welcomed to-day as a divinely appointed leader of mankind. It is no doubt true that there are many among his professed followers, perhaps even a majority, who would fail to see in the actual living man such qualities as they have ascribed to the Christ of their theology. But the question, as it is commonly asked, is hardly a fair one. Every great man of the past would be a somewhat strange object to our eyes, if he could come back to earth clothed in the habits and customs of the age in which he lived. Suppose a man were to be born out of our modern life with the spirit and character and thought of Jesus, all that was incidental to that far-off time and place being changed for what is incidental to our time and place; is there any reason to doubt that he would be joyfully and widely received by us as a true prophet of the soul? If there is reason to doubt this, it must be because the world is now so far advanced as to render the moral and spiritual genius of Jesus not particularly noticeable when compared with the attainments of the modern mind. But are we not apt to exaggerate

the achievements of recent years far beyond their rightful importance as measured against life's highest qualities and attributes? Almost all the wonderful advance of science upon which we pride ourselves has taken place since Shakspeare's day. We now know many things that were undiscovered when he wrote; but does any one feel that his ignorance of these matters constitutes a serious blemish on Shakspeare's genius? Does our superior knowledge lift us so near the level of his rare insight and wonderful command of language that we cease to hold his magnificent gifts in reverence? Now and again one hears the opinion that Shakspeare is a much overrated poet; but it does not come from any source at all likely to enlighten us as to what true poetry is. If Jesus has anything like the greatness of soul that has been attributed to him, the world has as yet made no advance which brings him down to the level of ordinary human nature.

No mind at the present time is well qualified to form a judgment on this question unless it carefully guards itself from the intrusion of popular prejudices that abound on both sides. One false extreme always begets an opposite false extreme, and the truth between the two only appears to him who can emancipate himself from the passions of controversy. We see, for example, that when the English church had sunk deep into idolatrous practices under the Stuart kings, the natural result was the rise of a Puritan party which made war upon all that was beautiful in religion. We denounce and deplore the idolatry that then filled the Church; but equally we lament the mad zeal of Cromwell's soldiers, who wasted and destroyed treasures which cannot now be replaced, and established a traditional belief in the virtue of ugliness which even yet it is hard for their successors to shake off. So with one portion of the world holding absurd and superstitious views of the

nature of Christ, and making their lip-service of his name everywhere unpleasantly prominent, it is natural that for the time being an opposing class should arise, which seeks to destroy, not only the idolatry, but that which men have made the idol of their thoughts. Never were Christians more stanch than they who founded the New England Commonwealth; but when these men observed in their churches people who longed for unlawful rites, covertly making courtesies at every mention of the name of Jesus that occurred in the Puritan service, they were shocked and horrified. What wonder, then, if in our minds the old Adam of rage and resentment rises with some vigor when we still see a formal reverence paid to the name of Christ which is denied to the name that stands for the Infinite Father of all souls! While there is a religion unspiritual enough to raise this human image higher in its reverence than the thought of an unembodied Deity, we may expect to witness the manifestation of an anti-Christian sentiment, which is but the rebound from one to another false extreme. But they who care more for truth than for controversy or partisan success will be as slow to join an anti- as an ultra-Christian cry. The present disposition of many minds to throw off the Christian name does not stand for the sober second thought of free inquiry. It is rather a somewhat too passionate revolt from forms of Christianity that are merely conventional and traditional, and will in the end, we may confidently expect, take up again with gratitude and pride much that it now flings aside.

There is another reason why it is difficult for some people at the present time to form a just estimate of the life of Christ. The world does not advance along all lines of progress at the same time, but its energies tend rather to run out so exclusively in special directions that in other ways there is temporarily a positive decline. Now the

scientific spirit so rules our day as to occasion a very noticeable decline of what, for want of a better title, we may call the spiritual imagination, — the power to appreciate life on its poetic side, and to read that language of symbols which is the only speech whereby the finest and highest faculties of the soul have ever succeeded in uttering themselves. There is certainly no reason why a man may not be at the same time a good mechanical engineer and a good musician; but no one will maintain that a course of instruction and training in engineering makes one a good musician. There is no reason why one may not be at the same time scientific and religious; but it does not follow that by scientific studies he can awaken and train those powers of the mind which have hitherto found in religion a source of unspeakable joy and strength. It is often said that there should be, and can be, no conflict between science and religion, in so far as both lay hold upon the truth. But it may nevertheless be true that by reason of the different language which they speak science and religion may sadly fail to understand each other, and may be betrayed into much needless antagonism. Looking back to past centuries, we can see that religion, when it held almost undisputed sway of the world, failed utterly to understand the rising power of science, whose early apostles it imprisoned and killed. Now that science has grown to take equal, and perhaps superior, command of the intellectual forces of the age, it also fails to understand and appreciate religion.

Let me beseech those who have been born into a world that has become suddenly somewhat new and strange to many whose heads are not yet white, that they will give this point careful and candid consideration. It is all very well to erect statues and sing hymns to the martyred Bruno, and to felicitate ourselves that we have escaped

the tyranny under which he suffered. But as earnest men and women, facing the deep problems of life and death and immortality, let us not think that we can thus escape or satisfy the hunger of our souls. I charge that under the rule of the modern scientific spirit the noblest power of humanity, that of spiritual imagination, has fallen somewhat into decline; and if, as it sometimes seems, the life and words of Christ are losing their hold upon us, it is not the intellectual greatness, but this spiritual defect of the time which largely accounts for that fact.

Did not that truly great man, Charles Darwin, — great with all his narrowness and pathetic limitations, — confess that his love of music and poetry had been starved out of him during his long life of exclusive devotion to scientific observation and experiment? Through long disuse a most important part of his nature had become no better than a withered arm, and he had ceased to be either a judge or a critic of two great arts that have always displayed wonderful power to move the souls of men. One is not making random accusations, but has the warrant of deliberate confessions made by competent witnesses, in saying that to very many minds the whole realm of religious conviction and enthusiasm is now as a sealed book. They do not know what it means that their fellows are stirred by such religious emotions as appear to take hold upon them. They have no power to enter into or measure the ideas which evidently have controlled some of the greatest intellects. The trouble is that they attempt to read the creeds of their fellows as if these were — what the ignorant assume them to be — scientific statements or descriptions of spiritual realities; whereas these creeds are, so far as they are anything worth serious consideration mere, figurative expressions, — more or less adequate symbols of what no man is able to define in exact scientific

fashion. It is easy to see what the creeds of Calvinism say, and how they read to the literal mind; but it is not so easy to see what Calvinism meant to those strong-hearted men who fought the battle of liberty throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though it evidently stood for something more than the stupid literalism from which the Church of our day is trying to escape.

Of course, it does not follow that the beliefs which have once served the spiritual imagination can be made to serve forever. But none the less we foolishly defraud ourselves if we will not allow our spiritual imagination to speak; and in the nature of the case its speech must be, not the language of science, but that of religious poetry. We of this time easily acquire a too superstitious regard for what we call facts, easily fall victims to a morbid fear of being deceived by the symbols that stand for unutterable truths. Go place yourself before Raphael's great masterpiece, that most devout picture of saintly motherhood, and try to "understand" its charm! Discover, if you are able, what trick of drawing or coloring it is that so witches the eyes and the hearts of all beholders! So far as this secret is concerned, you will have, I think, your labor for your pains, and will probably find in the midst of your straining analysis that for the time being the picture has lost its power to charm. So, it appears to me, there is a type of the modern mind which stands before the portrait of Christ, its curious gaze so bent to discover what it calls the "historic facts" that it is temporarily blind to the great flood of sublime thoughts and feelings which has streamed from that wondrous symbol upon the hearts of many Christian generations. It is a great mistake to think that reverence for that great and stainless life is a sign of mediæval aims and tendencies. The world moves fast, but not fast enough to allow us to class a man like

Theodore Parker with an outworn conservatism; and he was one who clung to the divine truth and beauty in the life of Christ as the very soul and basis of what is best in our world of to-day.

If one declares it to be part of his artistic creed that the so-called Venus of Milo is only an ordinary production of the sculptor's chisel, and that the marble forms which adorn our cemeteries and parks are quite equal or superior to that ancient work, perhaps nothing can be said to him save that the enlightened perceptions of the world at large are not likely to endorse his verdict. To that enlightened judgment of mankind, they who think they see in the life of Christ an excellence that places him spiritually first among men, may confidently appeal. Though the portrait of that life which has come down to us is sadly defaced and incomplete, yet there is something in this broken image which easily surpasses the grace and majesty of every other figure in history. What need to ask, or how shall we determine whether he was absolutely sinless and infallible? It is enough if we see that his spirit and thought clearly mark the loftiest height to which human life has attained, and behold in him the qualities that are at last to redeem and regenerate our race. The question whether we may rightfully behold such pre-eminence in him is not to be settled alone by any amount of criticism applied to the details of the Gospel narrative. After this criticism has done its work, the question still recurs, What impression, taken as a whole, in view of what it was and what it accomplished, does this life make upon our minds?

A famous author belonging to our own period, who hated every kind of sham with a perfect hatred, and must not be lightly accused of indulging in feigned emotion, once visited Jerusalem. Of course he went to the Church

of the Holy Sepulchre, and to the alleged tomb of Jesus; "into which," he says, "be it authentic or not, no man can enter without a shock of breathless fear, and deep and awful self-humiliation." A life which so clings to the scenes among which its forces were spent that nearly two thousand years after it was ended, a man like Thackeray was moved to this confession of its command over his heart, must be worthy the profoundest study; and if we can in any degree fathom the secret of that life and of its power over men, it will be knowledge of the most helpful and instructive kind. That secret I think it is not hard to find, though it is not easily told in adequate language. Some hint of it we may try to communicate; only let it be remembered that the simplest things of life are often hardest to describe, and that the experience of the soul goes much deeper than words have power to follow.

Jesus himself summed up the Law and the Prophets in this one phrase, Love God and man. For him, this was the root of all duty, the crown and completion of all character. If he lived out this maxim, he succeeded in reaching what was to him the summit of human excellence. He did live out this maxim; and passing by all minor considerations, we may take that as the true key to what he was and what he has accomplished.

Nowhere else, it appears to me, either in the annals of history or among the creations of the poetic imagination, have we the record or the image of a human soul so completely governed in all its acts and thoughts by a love for man so perfect and divine. Such freshness, spontaneity, and intensity of spiritual impulse cannot easily arise out of our modern life. Of necessity, the continuance of intellectual growth has made us too self-conscious; and it will be long yet ere the completed cycle of spiritual development brings us to a point where the

race can once more live out, easily and naturally, the higher impulses of the soul. No studied action can equal the perfect grace of a young child's gestures, which are made in entire unconsciousness of self; and the trained student of human nature should look instinctively for the best example of a life shaped and guided by incarnate love, in an age nearer than our own to the childhood of the world. It should be as evident to him that the best conditions for such a life are found in that earlier time, as it is to the botanist that a certain flower will thrive best in some particular latitude. This warm, deep tide of wonderful love; this outpouring of a flood of divine compassion over the world's want and wretchedness; this entire devotion of the heart to the good of one's fellow-men, — leaving no room for any trace of vengeful feeling or desire, — all this is high above us, almost as the heavens are high above the earth. It would be most unjust and unfair, in the light of such knowledge of other religions as we now possess, to say that nowhere else is there any approach to the perfect love of Christ. We should hold no quarrel, even with one who thinks he sees in other great saints who have been loving and stainless, the equal of Christ's perfections. It is a question only of what one sees, and let us expect no man to report otherwise than as his vision dictates. To me it seems that there is in the love of Christ distinctly a more healthful tone, as compared with those who may be called in some sense his peers. The suspicion of something morbid in their hearts, I do not find in him. He did not merely pity men for their wrongs; he loved them for the godlike capacities he saw in them. He did not look up to the heavens in anger, indignation, or despair for the wrongs suffered here below, but only in patient confidence that these would be at last redressed. He looked upon the

imperfect hearts of men, his brethren, as the gardener may look upon his plants. He loved them for the beauty they might unfold, and he longed with passionate earnestness to help the Almighty Father in lifting up and strengthening their feeble life. Many others have loved in this fashion, — praised be the name of the Lord. But in the love of Christ, there is a steadfastness, an intensity, and a serenity quite beyond any other human source from which this wondrous light of the spirit has shined upon us.

But still more clear and unquestionable is his supremacy, when we come to speak of his love toward God. Then we must give him a place so much higher than all others, where he stands so unmistakably kinglike in his sole superiority, that we are ready to bow our hearts before him with the words "Lord and Master" upon our lips. None other has lived in such perfect consciousness of a divine presence within and round about him. None other has so walked with God, or so felt his spirit blended in intimate communion with the Infinite. Never in word or deed is he found shut up within his own individual self, but always he shows us his deep feeling that self-hood is linked with Deity. Who can wonder at the tendency to worship him, since he so lived in and breathed forth a divine atmosphere that his disciples felt, when under the spell of his personal influence, they were, as nowhere else, in the presence of God. Though their own sight was too dim to see all that was revealed to him, yet when he spoke to them of the Father's kingdom, in such accents of authority as only sight could give, they also, with the eye of faith, saw a world divinely made and governed, and a future bright with the promises which infinite love and goodness supply. No other life began to disclose to them, nor is there any other which unfolds to us, such sustained and unclouded consciousness of union with the

life of God. Many philosophers have taught the immanence of the divine presence; but no other has so lived in this truth and felt its kindling power in every smallest movement of will and thought and desire.

And this, the true glory of the life of Christ, is the chief glory of all human existence, so far as men are able to attain it. The real measure of a human soul is the extent to which it has come into rightful relations with the existence beyond itself. We have all partially adjusted ourselves to some small fraction of the universe, and we feel transient intimations of bonds that knit our spirits into close and unbroken relationship with the Universal Life. Here was one who felt that widest bond of union as vividly and as deeply as we realize any of the special relationships that join us to our fellow-men. His soul therefore reflected, not merely an image of the kingdom of heaven on earth, but something of the strength and beauty of that infinite order which comprehends all ages and all worlds. The life of Christ is our witness that the spiritual development of man may be carried so high, at length, that the common heart shall become sensitive to and aware of the life that pervades all things, and shall know itself enfolded by the Divine Presence, even as our bodies are held within the embrace of the invisible air.

I am persuaded that if we are thinking, as Saint Paul was, of the highest interests of our race and of the ways in which its largest good is to be wrought out, we must still say with him, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Of course this is not saying that one must believe on him after the fashion of the popular religion of our time, in order to reach heaven; or that other races to whom his name is unknown are eternally lost. It is saying, however, that, for the present at least, no man and no party of men will

be able to invent a basis, or a bond of union, to displace that single personality by which the Christian world is bound together. It means that the great currents of benevolence, philanthropy, and moral reform will, with us, continue to bear his name; that every good cause will in the end draw most of its recruits from the churches where his influence is one of the strongest of living forces; and that the source of all this power which his life still manifests, is not delusion, but the presence in him of a commanding truth, whose radiance not all the mists of superstition have been able to quench. No true friend of his Gospel will ask to have everything done formally and officially in his name. But no real gain will anywhere result from making war upon that name as if it were a symbol of slavery and error. It is, and will remain a symbol, dear to the hearts of millions, of the very highest thoughts and the holiest love they can conceive; and there is no greater work to be done on earth, at this time, than that of revealing to the common sight what deeps of wisdom and what heights of excellence are in that sacred life, lying as yet unrealized and unexplored.

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We feel an obligation to Mr. Clarke for his work which we can but inadequately express. He has done the cause of Christian truth great service. His book must make a strong impression on every fair mind. . . . He has none of the heat of the partisan, and none of the extravagance of the sentimentalist. The reader is impressed everywhere with the strength and the breadth of the mind that claims his attention. — *Universalist, Boston.*

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THE BIBLE.

BY

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

REPRINTED FROM

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THE BIBLE.

What is the Bible? and Where did it come from? "The Bible" means "The Book," and it is "The Book of Books." No other scriptures of man compare with it for wide, deep, and ever-growing influence. It is the highest work of its class, — that is, of the sacred writings of mankind; and these sacred writings are, among all other writings, the most important and influential.

Every commanding race, every vast civilization, has been directed and controlled by its sacred writings. The hundred and fifty millions of Hindoos have been ruled, during twenty-five centuries, by their Vedas and Puranas. Chinese civilization has taken its stamp from "The Kings" and the "Four Books." The brilliant career of the Persian empire was inspired throughout by the Zend-Avesta. The tribes of Arabia were gathered, moulded, banded, and wielded in a resistless tide of conquest by the Koran. The sacred books of the Buddhists have been the leaven of civilization among a third part of the human race during a vast period of time. If we judge them by their influence, these are the great books of the human race. But, for various reasons, the Bible stands above them all. The others are the books of particular races, — of the Hindoos only, or the Mongols, or the Persians, or the Chinese; but the Bible has a constituency composed of all the races of the world. The others belong to decaying, arrested, or dead civilizations; the Bible, to the

advancing and all-conquering races who stand for the highest civilization attained on this planet. The others are either narrow or shallow in some directions; the Bible is a fountain whose waters feed intellect, heart, life, promoting the highest worship, as well as the largest humanity. This supreme value of the Bible has been recognized by thinkers of all schools. Walter Scott expresses the orthodox idea in the lines which he puts in the mouth of the White Lady of Avenel: —

> "Within this awful volume lies
> The mystery of mysteries.
> Happiest they of human race
> To whom our God hath granted grace
> To read, to hear, to hope, to pray,
> To lift the latch and force the way;
> But better had he ne'er been born
> Who reads to doubt or reads to scorn."

Another writer, who is not usually supposed to reverence the Bible too much, Theodore Parker, thus speaks of it. I gladly quote his words to show that he is not that merely destructive radical he is often believed to be: "This collection of books has taken such a hold on the world as no other. The literature of Greece, which goes up like incense from that land of temples and heroic deeds, has not half the influence of this book from a nation alike despised in ancient and modern times. It is read of a Sabbath in all the ten thousand pulpits of our land. In all the temples of Christendom its voice is lifted up week by week. The sun never sets on its gleaming page. It goes equally to the cottage of the plain man and the palace of the king. It is woven into the literature of the scholar, and colors the talk of the street. . . . It blesses us when we are born, gives names to half Christendom, rejoices with us, has sympathy with our sorrowing, tempers our grief to

finer issues. . . . Now, for such effects there must be an adequate cause. That nothing comes of nothing is true all the world over. It is no light thing to hold with an electric chain a thousand hearts, though but an hour. What is it, then, to hold the Christian world, and that for centuries? . . . Some thousand famous writers come up in this century, to be forgotten in the next. But the silver cord of the Bible is not loosed, nor its golden bowl broken, as tens of centuries go by. . . . There must be in the Bible mind, heart, soul, wisdom, and religion. Were it otherwise, how could millions find it their lawgiver, friend, and prophet? Some of the greatest of human institutions seem built on the Bible; such things will not stand on heaps of chaff, but on mountains of rock." (Discourse of Religion, pp. 302–304.)

If, then, we ask, "What is the Bible?" the answer is, "The Word of God." But this answer takes two shapes, which I am now to consider.

One answer, and that the most common in the Protestant church, says: It is "the Word," by being inspired throughout by God, — in every book, every page, every chapter, every verse, every word. It is infallible all through. Every part is consistent with every other part, and with all truth. If it contradicts astronomy or geology, so much the worse for them. If it contradicts historic monuments and records, then they are false. If it seems to contradict itself, this is only in appearance. It is the Word of God throughout, from Genesis to Revelation; and "better had he ne'er been born who reads to doubt" a word of any part of it, from Genesis to Revelation. This is the theory of infallible verbal inspiration.

The other answer to the question, "How is the Bible the Word of God?" is that it is filled with the Spirit of God. As we read the Old Testament, we everywhere

feel the presence of Divine power and justice ruling the world. The world and its affairs are all guided and governed by God, who will reward good and punish evil. It is a revelation everywhere of Divine law. As we read the New Testament, we are in the presence of a heavenly Father of an infinite tenderness, who pours blessings on the good and the evil, and desires to save every child. The Old Testament is inspired by the sense of Divine law, the New Testament by the sense of Divine love.

But its unity, its sacredness, its power, is of the spirit, not the letter. There is no infallibility about its geology, astronomy, or history; but its spirit is everywhere one. This spirit is developed more and more from the earliest to the latest books. The Old Testament grows more spiritual in the Psalms and Prophets than in Kings and Chronicles. The New Testament comes to fulfil the Old, — not to contradict it, but to complete it. The summit is reached in the life and words of Jesus, which are full of the highest truth.

In order to discover which of these views is the true one, we must see where the Bible came from. Our Bible is the English Bible. But the English Bible is a translation, for the Bible was written originally in Hebrew and Greek. Therefore if the doctrine of verbal inspiration is true, not only must the authors have been miraculously preserved from error, but the translators also. Our present English Bible is a translation — called the Authorized Version — made by fifty-four scholars by the command of James the First. They were not left free to translate according to their conscience and knowledge, but were ordered to follow certain rules. They were not allowed to make a new translation, but only to correct an older one. They took the liberty of translating the same Hebrew or Greek word sometimes by one English word

and sometimes by another. And now we ask whether they were infallibly inspired always to choose the right word in their translation? No one pretends that they were; but if not, the whole theory of infallible verbal inspiration falls to the ground.

Take, for example, the Greek words, "krima" and "krisis," which are translated in our Bible sometimes "judgment," sometimes "condemnation," and sometimes "damnation." Our English Bible makes Paul say that he who eats the Lord's Supper unworthily "eats and drinks *damnation* to himself." But it does not make Jesus say, "For damnation I have come into the world;" but, "For judgment I have come into the world," and yet the word is the same. Our translation does not translate, "This is the damnation, that light has come into the world;" but, "This is the condemnation." Here too the word is the same. So the word "hades" is translated in one place "the grave," and in other places "hell." If, therefore, we are to consider our English Bible verbally inspired, then the translators must have been inspired to decide whether in such texts it is hell that is spoken of, or only the grave. But as no one believes this, it is certain that our English Bible, at any rate, cannot be verbally inspired.

How is it, then, with the Greek or Hebrew Bible from which they translate it? As the books of the New Testament were written in the first and second centuries, and as printing was not discovered till the middle of the fifteenth century, it is evident that these books were copied in writing by scribes during thirteen or fourteen hundred years. Were these copyists all infallibly inspired so as to make no mistakes? Certainly not; for then the manuscripts now extant would not differ from each other as they do. In the fifteen hundred manuscripts of the whole

or parts of the New Testament which have been compared together, more than a hundred thousand various readings have been found, — mostly unimportant, but some of great consequence. Now, unless some one is infallibly inspired to distinguish between these various readings, we cannot have a verbally inspired Bible. If you open your New Testament at 1 John v. 7, you will find the following verse, "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." This passage is the only one in the New Testament in which the doctrine of the Trinity seems to be plainly taught. And this passage is wanting in *all* the Greek manuscripts except two modern ones, in all the ancient versions, even in the copies of the Vulgate before the tenth century, in all the Church Fathers, — even those who were discussing the Trinity, and who quoted the verses before it and after it, — and is now universally admitted to be no part of the Epistle of John. Yet it stands in all our English Bibles, and is read and quoted as if it were a part of the inspired Word.

But let us suppose that somehow we have certainly possessed ourselves of the original text of the inspired writers; there is still another question. Who collected the books of the Old and New Testament, and decided that these were the inspired writers? In other words, who fixed the canon? Who was infallibly authorized to say that these particular books, and no others, out of all Jewish and Christian literature, should be put together in the Bible? The answer is, No one. The Bible was not thus formed. It came together gradually, on the principle of the survival of the fittest. Books which were at first a part of the Bible dropped out of it. Others which were rejected by many at first have finally become established in the canon as a part of the sacred Scriptures.

Not long ago, in the Convent of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, a Russian scholar discovered an ancient manuscript of the New Testament, which proved to be the oldest known. It goes back to the fourth century; and one way by which its age is determined is that it contains, among the other books, the Epistle of Barnabas, which ceased to be a part of the New Testament after the fourth century. Barnabas was the companion of Paul, and is called a prophet in the New Testament, and is said to be a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith. He was sent to Jerusalem with Paul to attend the first Christian council. He joined the Church at the very first, and showed his zeal by selling his land and giving the proceeds to his needy fellow Christians. He introduced Paul to the Church, went with him on his missionary journeys, and is called an apostle in the New Testament. Now, an epistle, believed to have been written by him, was for this reason put among the Scriptures of the New Covenant, and remained in them two or three hundred years. Then it dropped out; and if you wish to know why, read it, and you will see. Not because of any doubts entertained in those days of its authenticity, for it was repeatedly quoted by Clement and Origen as a genuine work of Barnabas; but it is full of tasteless allegories, it has no weight, no substance, and evidently it was left out of the New Testament because it was not fit to stay in. What books belong to the New Testament has not been settled even now. The Roman Catholic church puts into the Bible the Old Testament Apocrypha, which most Protestants reject. Criticism has not definitely settled in regard to two or three of the books of the New Testament whether they are genuine. How, then, can we pretend that every part of the present Bible is infallibly the Word of God?

Another objection to this doctrine of verbal inspiration

is that it repels many persons from Christianity, and is the cause of much infidelity. There are often honest and intelligent men who cannot receive the geology or astronomy of the Book of Genesis, or many of the miracles of the Bible. They are told that if they do not believe that Joshua stopped the sun in his course, and that the whale swallowed Jonah, they have no right to believe in Jesus Christ. So they are rejected from Christianity. One remarkable illustration of this is to be found in the French philosopher Rousseau, whose name has been identified with infidelity, when he was, in truth, the most religious man among the great thinkers of his own time and land. In his book on education, "Émile," he gives his creed in regard to Christ. He puts Christ far above all other teachers the world has seen, and is ready to accept him as his master in religion, because of his wonderful life and death. "Do not compare him with Socrates," he cries. "Socrates died like a philosopher; Jesus died like a God." As to his miracles, says Rousseau, "I can neither receive them as facts, nor can I reject them. I admit my ignorance concerning them. They may have been true, only I cannot say that I believe them. But I can believe in Christ on other grounds, because of his wonderful character and marvellous teaching. On these grounds I can be a Christian." But this was not considered sufficient by the Church, and he was banished from France because of this book and these statements. He went to Switzerland, and there, in a small town in Neufchâtel, found a little Protestant church which received him on his own grounds; and there he had a religious home, and partook with them of the Lord's Supper.

At the beginning of my ministry I had a church in Kentucky. There I found many persons who were reputed to be infidels, and thought themselves so, and whose influ-

ence was against Christianity, simply because they could not accept the verbal inspiration of the whole Bible. One man I knew, one of the best of men, upright and honorable, benevolent and kind, who was called an infidel. When I asked him about it, he said, "Yes, I have thought myself so, and for this reason, — when I was young, I heard a minister say, taking a Bible in his hand, 'Everything between these lids is the Word of God, and if you do not believe it you will be damned.' I said, 'If this is Christianity, I must be an infidel.' But now I have changed my mind. I do not think that Christianity requires me to believe every word in the Bible, and so I can gladly be a Christian."

Why, then, is this doctrine of the infallible verbal inspiration of the Bible still maintained? Not because the Scripture itself claims any such infallibility; it does not. It is indeed said that "all Scripture is given by inspiration," but not that this inspiration is infallible. Inspiration is one thing, infallibility another. The great poets, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, are called inspired, and truly, because they have an inward illumination which shows them forms of truth and beauty and goodness unseen by common men. But this inspiration does not preserve them from mistakes. It does not make them infallible. Take the four Gospels and compare them with each other. One spirit, one life, pervades them all; it is the life of Christ. But they frequently contradict each other in details. If you demand verbal and minute accuracy, their whole story falls to the ground, and we lose our Master. They differ from each other openly and frankly all the way through as regards outward incidents. But as to the substance of the story, they are one. They differ as to the details of Christ's resurrection, but that he really rose from the dead they are fully agreed. If it is

necessary, in order to believe Christianity, to have verbal accuracy in the Scriptures, one cannot believe Christianity at all; for the Scriptures cannot be verbally accurate when they differ even in unimportant minutiæ. But it is not necessary. What we need is to be certain as to the main facts of Christ's life, teaching, and character. And we can be certain of these, just as we are certain of the main facts in the life and character of Alexander the Great, Dr. Franklin, Julius Cæsar, General Washington. No one pretends that those writers from whom we derive our information concerning such persons were infallibly inspired; yet we are at least as sure of the main facts of their lives and character as we are of the main facts of the life of Abraham, Samuel, or David. We are *more* sure that Julius Cæsar crossed the Rubicon on his way to Rome, and that Dr. Franklin was in London before the Revolution, than that Jesus went to Jerusalem at the beginning of his ministry; for all writers are agreed as to the one, and the four Evangelists are not agreed as to the other.

Many arguments have been brought to prove the theory of verbal inspiration, some of them very ingenious. But the difficulty with them all is that they merely aim at showing that the Bible *ought* to be verbally inspired, not that it is so. The fact remains that it is *not* so inspired, since it is in some places opposed to science, in others to history, and in others to itself. One curious fact shows that this doctrine is supported by the fear that, if a single verse of the Bible is admitted to be unsound, the authority of the whole will be gone. Scholars of all denominations admit that there are mistranslations and interpolations in our Bible which ought not to be there. Some years ago the Committee on Versions of the American Bible Society, containing eminent scholars, all of Orthodox denomina-

tions, prepared an amended edition of the English version. They did not make a new translation, nor amend the errors of the old one, nor even improve the text where it is admitted to be faulty. They only corrected some palpable misprints, and altered the headings of the chapters where these are incomplete or false, or where they are in reality comments on the Scripture. This amended version, indorsed by the secretaries, and adopted by the Board of Managers, was printed and circulated by them during seven years, and was then suppressed. This was done in consequence of a clamor, raised not merely by the ignorant, but in which even Reviews, Ecclesiastical Bodies, and Auxiliary Societies did not hesitate to join. I asked one of the gentlemen, who was a member of the committee, why this was done; and he said that it was owing to the fear that, if we once began to make corrections in the Bible, the people might lose their faith in it altogether.

It is said, "Unless we believe the Scriptures infallibly true, there can be no *authority;* and we need some *authority* to rest upon, otherwise all will become uncertain, and then there will be no firm convictions about anything." I admit that we want firm religious convictions. I go further; I say we need to *know* spiritual things just as we know natural things. But I contend that the belief in a verbal inspiration does not give us that knowledge, but rather hinders it. I also maintain that we need to trust in the authority of Jesus. It is an immense help to have confidence in him as the way, the truth, and the life. But to trust in the *authority* of a teacher is not knowledge; it is only the door to knowledge. You send your child to school, and it is right that he should trust in the teacher's authority, and take what is taught on that authority; but if it ends there, he has not learned anything. Until he

has made his teacher's instruction a harmonious part of his *own* knowledge, he does not know.

Authority is a door by which we enter the vast temple of truth. It is a guide who leads us through the wilderness to the Promised Land. But there its work ends. It does not give us knowledge, only the access to knowledge. The true authority of the Scripture is this, that it is a book made sacred by the love and respect of many generations, — a book which has brought comfort and joy to thousands and tens of thousands of hearts, which has been the means of converting sinners and of edifying saints. Hence we ought to approach it with trust, expectation, confidence, and read it to find what it has to teach us, seeking for the spirit of life and truth which is in it. But to have this faith in the Bible as full of truth, it is not necessary to believe in its perfect accuracy in every respect, nor that it has been preserved by a miracle from all error. No one believes that Humboldt was infallibly inspired; but what authority his words carry! No one believes that La Place was infallibly inspired to write the "Mécanique Céleste." It has been said that in America not five men can understand it; yet his views of the universe are accepted by all. No one believes the "Nautical Almanac" an inspired book; but it is such an authority that thousands of vessels trust themselves to its calculations, and thousands of lives and millions of property are confided to its accuracy.

The true inspiration of the Bible is not of the letter, but of the spirit. Until we have caught that spirit, all the dogmas of its inspiration avail nothing. When we have that, we do not need them. The spirit of the Bible is one all through. From Genesis to Revelation there is a sense of the power of God. It all brings us near to him. Everything is looked at as if he were near by. The

Book of Genesis teaches that God is the creator of all things. The Persians said that the stars and planets were gods; Genesis says, "God made them all." The Egyptians said that plants and animals were gods; Genesis says, "God said, Let the earth bring forth herbs and animals." It does not teach geology, but monotheism.

Pass on to the stories of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph What inspiration is there in these? you ask. Of the letter, none; but there is the spirit of trust in a providence, near by, guiding human feet evermore. Come down to David. He was a fierce soldier, a wild, passionate man, with many faults; but amid them all there was a love of right and goodness, there was a profound sorrow for his sins, and a perfect trust in God. When David, tending his sheep on the hillsides of Judæa, sang his song of trust, and said, "The Lord is my shepherd," the Divine inspiration taught him a strain which will echo through all time.

Then turn to the prophets. They were stern and solemn figures, awful and venerable shapes, "going in the heat and bitterness of their spirit." But they were firmly convinced of the ever-present Divine power. They stood like a rock, hoping against hope. They cry out to a backsliding people, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found." "It is he who hath measured the waters with a span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure." This is the inspiration of the Old Testament. It is Divine power around us all, and Divine law above us all, and Divine providence guiding us all.

In the New Testament there comes another sense of sunny piety, a happy atmosphere of heavenly love. Listen to Jesus: "Not a sparrow falls to the ground without your Father; and ye are of more value than many sparrows."

"Be ye children of your Father in heaven, who causes his sun to rise on the evil and the good; and sends his rain on the just and the unjust."

"Consider the lilies how they grow. . . . If God so clothe the grass of the field, how much more will he clothe you."

"I am the resurrection and the life. He that believes in me"—that is, who accepts my truth and trusts in my word—"shall never die." He does not die. Death is nothing to him. He passes on and up.

"Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more."

"What man among you being a father, if his son ask bread, will give him a stone? How much more shall your heavenly Father give his holy spirit to those that ask him."

Is a theory of plenary inspiration necessary to enable us to believe the Sermon on the Mount, or to utter the Lord's Prayer? Are not such sayings their own authority? And what did Paul mean when he said, "God has made us able ministers of the New Testament, *not of the letter, but of the spirit;* for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life"? What did he mean but exactly what I have been contending for here? Do I need any theory of verbal inspiration to be satisfied that he was filled by a Divine spirit when he said, "I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor things present, nor things to come, . . . can separate me from the love of God in Jesus Christ"?

Peter and James and John are not repetitions of Paul; they all speak in their own language, but one spirit runs through them all. When John says, "He that loveth dwelleth in God;" when James says, "Pure religion is to visit the fatherless, and to keep one's self unspotted from the world,"—they said the same thing which Paul said in declaring that "Love is the fulfilling of the Law,"

and that Love is greater even than Faith or Hope. And all agree with the great words of Christ, when he taught that the chief commandment is to love God and love man.

The spirit of the Bible is one; there is no contradiction, no opposition there. But when Paul says, "The letter killeth," he utters a solemn warning; for care for the letter has always brought a chill of death to the soul.

It is not, then, because we wish to have less respect felt for the Bible that we oppose this theory of the letter, but because we wish more. If this whole theory were dropped, we should, as I am convinced, enter far more into the spirit of the Bible. The Bible would then no more be regarded merely as a master, but rather as a friend. Multitudes now repelled would be attracted toward it, and the Bible might say to Christian believers, as Jesus said, "I call you not servants," blindly obedient to an unintelligible command; "but I call you friends," intelligently obeying what you see to be right, intelligently accepting what you see to be true, and able to comprehend what is the length and breadth and depth and height of the love of God.

The power of the Bible is not in its letter, but its spirit. That spirit needs no support from dogmas or theories of a supposed infallibility. The Bible may be proved full of errors as regards science, often wrong in its chronology and history. Its saints may be very imperfect characters, its prophets mistaken in their predictions, its apostles men of like passions with ourselves, and sometimes going astray. It may be true of them, as they said of themselves, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us." But what is the chaff to the wheat? The power of the Bible is that it brings God to man, and lifts man to God; that it shows a providence reaching through all

history, and whose everlasting arms are below all things, — a Father, whose love comes down into the heart of every child, who cares for us all, and is the Saviour of all. The Holy Spirit which pervades this book is *The Comforter*. It brings us comfort in our sorrows, light in our darkness, hope in our despair. When all the scaffoldings which surround the Bible are taken away, by which men have tried to prop it up, the world will begin truly to recognize its real glory. Kingdoms fall, institutions perish, civilizations change, human doctrines disappear; but the imperishable truths which pervade and sanctify the Bible shall bear it up above the flood of change and the deluge of years. It will forever remain —

> "A sacred ark, which from the deeps
> Garners the life for worlds to be,
> And with its precious burden sweeps
> Adown dark time's destroying sea."

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IS FUTURE PUNISHMENT EVERLASTING?

BY

REV. SAMUEL C. BEANE.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,

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IS FUTURE PUNISHMENT EVERLASTING?

ARE THERE FEW THAT BE SAVED? — *Luke* xiii: 23.

ASSUMING, as we do, an existence for all men after death, the most serious question which follows is, What have we to hope or fear beyond this life, for the worst, the lowest, and most unpromising of our kind? Or, using a well-coined phrase, What is the doom of the wicked?

In trying to throw a little light upon this subject, I shall speak first to those who look chiefly to the Bible for instruction in such matters, and then briefly consider some of those grounds of faith and hope which are in our own natures and in the nature of things.

I. Most Christians go very far back for their sighting-ground on this great question, to the story in Genesis of what is called the sin of Adam and the fall of Man, wherein it is shown, as they think, that the entire human race is in a ruined condition, under the wrath of God, from which escape is provided for those who will accept it in the gospel and death of Jesus.

But a few words of comment may well be spoken on this story of "The Fall." First, it is without name or date, and the utmost efforts of scholars have failed to discover when and where it originated. It occurs in Genesis, but Genesis is evidently a collection of the short writings of several authors, each distinguished by his particular style and use of words, but no one signing his name, or giving any clew to it. Moreover, the story reads like a

production of earlier date than written history, rather than a bundle of strict historical statements. Many scholars have come to believe that it is a poetic legend, or allegory, of ancient date, but brought by the Hebrews from Babylon at the close of their captivity, a comparatively late period in their career.

But, again, if you will carefully read the story, forgetting the dogmatic interpretations which have been put upon it, I doubt whether you will find any fall of Adam, or fall of anybody. The word "fall" is not used; and when the first pair are said to be expelled from the Garden, it seems very much like you and me when we ceased to be children, and were sent forth from the nursery, where our idleness had begun to produce mischief, into the real world of real life,—not for our punishment, but because we had grown too large to be treated longer as babes. No curse of God is said to descend on the first man and woman: they are simply put to work to earn their own living, and take their share of responsibility, and the ground, it is said, is "cursed" or hardened for their sake, just, we may suppose, as you give your growing child rugged tasks and cares in order to make a man of him.

Well, come down through the history of the Jews as pictured in the books of the Old Testament. Adam's sin and fall, carrying the whole race to ruin with him, if it were a supposed fact, must needs have been a matter of constant and most serious interest, especially as the Jews were the most religious of peoples. What, then, do we find? Take the complete concordance and look through the Old Testament, from the end of Genesis to the last word of the last book, and the name of Adam is found but twice,—once in the book of Deuteronomy, and once in the poem of Job,—and both these times only in the way of literary allusion. "The Fall of Man" was clearly

not one of the doctrines taught by the prophets and teachers of the Old Testament.

We come now to the gospel of the New Testament and hearken to Jesus. Surely he will set forth this dire catastrophe of the first parent. It will, indeed, be the burden of his thought; for has he not come into the world to undo the terrible lapse and ruin of the human race? Listen, then. What do you hear from the Great Teacher? Not a sentence or a syllable on the subject from the day of his birth until his departure from the world. The record does not tell us that he ever spoke the word "Adam," or alluded to our first parents, or intimated that there had ever been a fall of man. Well, it would seem that an event or a doctrine which no prophet or psalmist of the Old Testament ever mentions and which Jesus passes by in absolute silence, does not demand very much attention on Bible or Christian grounds. The Christian of to-day, if he follows the example of his Master, will let the matter entirely alone.

But, it is said, Jesus did teach the everlasting punishment of the wicked. Let us see. There is a Greek adjective, *aionios*, which, in three instances, he is represented as using to describe the retributions of sin. This Greek word is capable of being spoken of things which are everlasting, though in a vast majority of cases, as used in the Bible and other books, it is applied to things which endure only for a while. It is an adjective from the noun *aion*, meaning "an age," its English form being *eonian*. Saint Jerome says that *aion* signifies "an age" (*unum sæculum*). Josephus, the Jewish historian, calls Herod's Temple *eonian*, although it no longer existed at the time of his writing. Saint Chrysostom writes, "Satan's kingdom is *eonian* — that is, will cease with this present world."

Coming to modern times, Dr. Isaac Watts, the hymn-writer and Bible-student, says we ought not, when speaking

of men and other creatures, "positively to affirm that their existence shall be equal to that of the Blessed God, especially with regard to duration of punishments." Jeremy Taylor wrote, "Everlasting signifies only to the end of its own proper period." Professor Moses Stuart, for so many years an honored teacher in the Andover Theological Seminary, says of *aionios*, "The different shades by which the word is rendered depend on the object with which *aionios* is associated." Canon Charles Kingsley, of the Church of England, writes thus, "The word *aion* is never used in Scripture or anywhere else in the sense of endlessness. . . . It always meant, both in Scripture and out, a period of time." These all, except Josephus the Jew, are accredited teachers of the Christian Church, and all reputed as Orthodox or Evangelical men. I could quote at great length from similar unquestioned sources, reaching from Saint Origen in the third century to Archdeacon Farrar in the nineteenth, to show that *aionios* does not express particular duration at all, but means in a general way, "pertaining to an age or period." A signal instance of such meaning is found in the seventh verse of Jude, where the destruction of Tyre and Sidon, which is represented as occupying but a single day, is called "the punishment of eternal (*aionios*) fire." From this usage it sometimes acquires the secondary meaning of "inherent," "intrinsic," or "spiritual," as distinguished from considerations of duration and other circumstances.

I am aware that there are scholars of reputation who still insist that the word in some cases necessarily means everlasting, but these are fewer in number and, as a rule, inferior in Biblical learning to those who take the other view.

Now consider this: The congregations that Jesus addresses, so far as the record shows, seem to be composed

largely of Pharisees and Sadducees; probably some representatives of the other classes of the Jewish people at that day were present, but only Pharisees and Sadducees seem conspicuous. Jesus and his biographers appear to regard them as the most important part of his hearers, and to them his discourses are very largely addressed. Now, the Sadducees, as we know, either disbelieved in a life beyond this or ignored the subject altogether. The Pharisees, at this time, believed in future existence, and added to this belief the conviction that all Jews who did not forfeit their Jewish birthright by some treason or disloyalty — all Jews who remained Jews to the end of their lives — were sure of resurrection to everlasting happiness. They believed, or many did, that the heathens were doomed to wander as dim shades in the underworld, and to be tortured there, but that all loyal Jews, either by transmigration or in some other way, were sure of endless felicity. Here, then, was an audience of men, a considerable and very important part of whom did not believe that the soul survives the body's death, and of whom the other principal part had no thought that they or any of theirs were in any danger of an unhappy doom in the world to come. The doctrine of everlasting punishment, as affecting the destiny of either of these two classes of his hearers, must have been, therefore, a thing entirely new to them. Jesus, according to the theory, was declaring to these uninstructed men predictions of the greatest catastrophe which could possibly befall them, unimaginable and sickening in its horrors; and every man he spoke to was in instant danger of this fate which words cannot describe, and from which no escape, save that which he could offer them, would be possible. And yet it was a peril of which no one of them had ever thought as possible to himself. Think carefully of this, and then we

will turn to these further facts. Supposing that Jesus' words mean actually endless punishment, he never, by the record, alluded to the matter but three times in all his three years' ministry; all he is reported to have said could have occupied no more than two or three minutes by the clock; and whether he actually said anything on the subject depends on the meaning of a variable word, which, in a large majority of cases, is applied to things which are not everlasting. We may add to this that the gospels of Luke and John do not record that Jesus ever spoke this word at all, or any word applied to punishment which can possibly signify its endlessness.

I am aware that other passages are sometimes quoted than those which contain this adjective, but only in a secondary way, these three passages in Matthew and Mark being the main and indispensable columns of the doctrine in question. Without these, it would never have occurred to Christians that everlasting punishment is taught in the New Testament.

Perhaps, however, I ought to speak of two or three other expressions which are regarded by many as *corroborating* the doctrine of endless punishment. The Greek word for punishment in Matthew xxv., above alluded to, is *kolasis*, the expression being *kolasis aionios*. But the most superficial student of the language, as well as the most profound, is aware that this noun involves the idea of correction, pruning, or discipline; and only by straining it far beyond its original and current meaning can the idea of torment, other than for amendment and restoration, be associated with it.

The words translated "hell," too, should have a moment's consideration. The Old Testament word *Sheol*, thus rendered, means simply the underworld of spirits good and bad, and no unbiassed scholar, I believe, claims

that it has any necessary reference to punishment. In Genesis XXXVII., Jacob is represented as saying: "I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning." Here the word translated grave, is *Sheol,* meaning the place or state of the dead. The common version renders it, in the sixty-five cases where it occurs in the Old Testament, thirty-one times as "grave," thirty-one times as "hell," and three as "pit." It does not really mean "hell" in a single case, nor indeed "grave," but it would be no less improper in either instance to render it by the one word than by the other. How would it seem, then, to represent Jacob as saying: "I will go down into *hell* unto my son mourning?"

In the New Testament, the two words *Hades* and *Gehenna* are translated "hell." *Hades* here occurs eleven times, in ten of which it is rendered "hell." In the remaining instance it is translated "grave:" "O grave, where is thy victory?" No person, to my knowledge, has ever successfully or even seriously attempted to show why *Hades* should not always be understood as the equivalent of *Sheol*, meaning "the underworld." But surely if it can be translated "grave" in this one instance, it could equally well be so rendered in the other eleven. And there is no reason, if the word "hell" expresses its meaning in the ten cases, why we should not render the eleventh, "Oh hell, where is thy victory?"

Gehenna, which is spoken of twelve times, is the valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem, where the worship of Moloch had at times been celebrated, which had been used as a city cesspool, and where, according to some authorities, the city had long kept a bonfire for the destruction of its offal and refuse. Of course every reference to the place in connection with the thought of punishment must be purely metaphorical, as no one is known to have been

actually punished there. Very naturally, it would seem, from its later uses, the idea of correction and purification became associated with the spot. Saint Origen, who made a thorough study of this matter in his scriptural investigations, declared that he had found that the Jews metaphorically associated the idea of future punishment with this valley, *because* it suggested to them purification and correction. At all events, there is no instance in the New Testament where either *Gehenna* or *Hades* is described as everlasting.

There is another word still, which, in one instance, in the second chapter of 2 Peter, is translated "hell," namely *Tartarus*, a word borrowed from pagan mythology, and in this case clearly used to express an event of temporary duration.

Every reader can judge for himself with what reason or moral right translators of the Scriptures can thus play fast and loose with these words, no one of which ever meant "hell," and which, to suit doctrinal emergencies, King James's translators seem to render in whatever way best suits their present strait or prejudice.

Now, if any one can think that Jesus, foreseeing this awful fate into which almost every one of his hearers was surely destined to fall unless warned and rescued by him, and into which any one of them might plunge at any moment, yet could spare but so small a part of his time to speak of the matter, while he discoursed at length on other subjects, and even then suspended the doctrine on a word, or a few words, of so uncertain meaning that the unbiassed student is at least left in great doubt whether he ever meant everlasting punishment, — if any one can think this of Jesus, I do not envy him his mental attitude toward the Master. Under this view, Jesus would seem a heartless trifler with men's dearest interests. If I had

been living at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and had for three years foreseen without a doubt that the fearful disaster was coming to that place which actually befell it a few months ago; but if, in all those years, though mingling freely with the people, I had alluded to their impending peril but three times in a way which would cause anybody to note it down, and then only momentarily, and in such indefinite terms as left it doubtful whether, indeed, I had ever spoken of the matter at all, — do you think the survivors of that catastrophe would bless me now as their benefactor, and their savior from danger?

II. Coming to the other point of view, that of reason and human nature and the nature of things, we see three possible destinies after death, for imperfect and evil men. First, everlasting imperfection and punishment; second, annihilation; third, improvement and final perfection. There can be but these three possibilities in the case, — endless moral and spiritual wretchedness, going on from bad to worse forever; the extinction of personal being; and the development of such new powers of good in every soul, under the fresh influences and advantages of another life, that all men shall finally achieve the high purpose for which they were evidently intended.

Consider now, the first possibility, that of being kept alive in hopeless wickedness and torture. Of course, if this thing is to be, it will be because the Creator and Father of mankind devised and intended it as a part of his great plan — foresaw it and was pleased with it as one of the possible fates of his children. He might have planned otherwise, — for all things are under his absolute control, — but he did not; this was one of the things at which he smiled approval, and called it very good. Well, a being who could do this, cannot possibly be loved or venerated or trusted by a human heart. There are no

words in any language to express every true man's moral abhorrence of an Almighty Being who should permit his almightiness to sleep while millions of his creatures — ay, of his own children — are allowed to rush on to everlasting wickedness and torture; who, indeed, deliberately planned this possibility and probability as his own pleasure. I could quote page after page from the writings of excellent men who have felt themselves bound to hold this doctrine, showing how it violated and lacerated every moral and benevolent instinct of their natures. Listen a moment to noble Albert Barnes, the distinguished Orthodox preacher and philanthropist of the last generation, whose Notes on the Scriptures are in so many of our homes. "I have never seen a particle of light," he says, "thrown on these subjects, that has given a moment's ease to my tortured mind. . . . I confess, when I look on a world of sinners and of sufferers; upon death-beds and graveyards; when I see my friends, my parents, my family, my people, my fellow-citizens; when I look upon a whole race, all involved in this sin and danger, and when I see the great mass of them wholly unconcerned, and when I feel that God only can save them, and yet he does not do it, — I am struck dumb. It is all dark, dark, dark to my soul, and I cannot disguise it." In a like strain, the late Professor Moses Stuart, of Andover, voiced the piercing cry of thousands of the finest souls: "Can heaven itself be a place of happiness for them, while they are conscious that a husband or a wife, or a son or a daughter, a brother or a sister, is plunged into a lake of fire from which there is no escape?" I will not tax your sympathies by further quotations. To a Liberal Christian, these horrors are a hideous but fleeting shadow; while to the Orthodox Christian, if he actually believes his creed, they are a ghastly reality. I have never met a person of

any faith who would confess to me that this doom for the wicked seemed either merciful or reasonable.

Well, what do we always say of a proposition which contradicts the constitution of man, — the constitutions and the faculties of all sound and enlightened men, — like this, for instance, that two and two make five, that the part is greater than the whole, that hate is more beautiful than love, or disease fairer than health? How do we always treat such propositions? We simply *deny them, trample upon them, and turn our faces the other way.* So do I turn my face from this monstrous affirmation concerning God and man, which fights against everything noble and true and merciful in the human soul.

But I hear some one say, Why is everlasting misery for bad men any less merciful or reasonable than temporary punishment and pain? If the penalty of evil is so cruel when drawn out through eternity, why is it not equally or at least very cruel when it lasts but a day? The question hardly needs an answer. There is, *in quality* and *meaning*, all the difference in the world between *temporary* pain and penalty *made endless*. A child, for example, carelessly pricks its finger. For a moment it suffers hurt; but then from that little accident it derives two benefits, — first, it learns a lesson of care and caution; and, second, the remainder of the day, and perhaps other days, will seem all the happier and brighter because of contrast with the temporary smart, so that this happening would appear to be no misfortune whatever, but really a contribution to the child's wisdom and happiness. Again, a person carelessly contracts an illness, and is shut up in a darkened sick-room for weeks or months. I was talking with one such lately, and this is the substance of his testimony: "I learned in those weary weeks lessons which are more valuable than a financial fortune. I learned for the first

time to appreciate health, and now for the first time I breathe the out-door air and bathe in the sunshine with a spirit of thankfulness. I have, moreover, taken my first serious lesson in learning what an exquisite structure this body is, and in giving it care and reverence. Strength, freedom, friends, work, — all have come to have a new relish, and to be religiously prized."

Again, a man goes wrong in this life, and all the way through, — makes a perpetual mistake: walks crooked paths of meanness, transgression, and vice. And he dies without recovering himself, in the midst of his transgressions and errors. Well, let us suppose that he wakes up the next morning in another sphere of existence, under new scenes and conditions. He has got rid of his besotted body, for one thing, which was a constant temptation to vice. He is now out of his earthly career, and can look in and down upon it from the outside, seeing himself for the first time as others saw him. He realizes his guilt; he comes to hate his old life and his old self; and pained and tortured he turns away, and begins to struggle up the path which leads through a hundred hells or purgatories to heaven. A terrible experience is before him, — this climbing out of the pit he had himself digged, this slow and almost desperate making up for lost opportunities; but on and on he goes, through, it may be, a thousand or ten thousand years of struggle and suffering. And at length he will have climbed the height; he will be a soul again, and not a brute; and beauty and glory and peace will have come to his life. Well, those thousand or ten thousand years of his disciplinary retribution and struggle are in comparison with the eternity beyond only like the child's momentary prick of its finger compared with the long day that followed. Light is beyond, compensation, blessing forevermore.

But where will you get the first ray of light, the first thought of compensation or satisfaction, out of *endless* punishment and torment? It is black, hopeless, hateful, from head to foot.

But it is sometimes said that this doctrine is needed to deter men from wickedness in this world; and a good friend once said to me that, while she did not believe the doctrine, she thought it should be preached, if possible, as a preventive of sin and crime. But is it, when professed and preached, a preventive of sin and crime, — a restraint upon evil-doing? The census which has from time to time been taken in our prisons does not confirm this, but rather shows that nearly all of our incarcerated criminals had been brought up in religious communions or communities where they received whatever benefit the doctrine of endless punishment could render them.

Which of the two beliefs, indeed, would seem to have the more restraining power? The Orthodox Christian has always held to the possibility of a bad transgressor so repenting at the last hour as to escape all future punishments, his long life of sin leaving no mark or stain on his soul, and not diminishing in the least his enjoyment of the heavenly state. But the Liberal Christian believes in no such late escape from the consequences of evil. He believes and teaches that no transgressor of heaven's law shall be excused till he has expiated his transgression to the full. He says to his own soul, and to others, in the language of Jesus, "Thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the last farthing." The Liberal Christian sees no way of avoiding the penalties of a sin, when once the sin has been committed. The transgressor's only hope is in enduring the natural and beneficent retribution of his deeds, and being thus saddened and disciplined into a better life. Does not Liberal Christianity, then, offer by far the stronger curb against wickedness?

The Liberal Christian complains of the Orthodox system, that it admits men of low and evil life too easily and costlessly into everlasting happiness, and that it holds out encouragement of escaping altogether the retribution of a career of heinous sin. Who is there, indeed, holding the Orthodox views, who does not mean and expect before he dies to make such provision, even in an hour's time, as shall render the future life as blessed to him as it will be to the most blameless and upright of mankind? Can such a system offer the moral restraint and stimulus which are needed by tempted and erring human beings?

And then the fate of those who do not thus anticipate their death and annul their penalties is so monstrous and shocking that it is very rarely viewed as an actual or possible fact. How few people ever allow that *their* relative, or friend, or neighbor is everlastingly lost! I have known but two persons who believed that one who was dear to them had gone down to endless misery. One of these was made insane, and the other was driven by her terrible experience of the dogma to investigate the grounds of her faith anew, — a course which led her into Liberal Christianity. Ah, it is an inhuman dogma, one which will not bear to be turned to actual fact, and which for this reason offers little or no restraint against evil! There is no word in our language whose utterance in a religious connection carries to the people's minds less of the sense of reality than the word "hell."

It is only the Liberal Christian who denounces to every evil person and evil deed penalties which are *instant*, *sure*, and *inexorable*, and from which no man shall come out until he has paid the last farthing.

I cannot dwell upon the second possibility, — namely, that of the annihilation of the wicked. Many excellent people have adopted this view as more merciful than the

former, and there are certain facts of experience and observation which almost suggest that some persons may by evil lives so weaken and destroy their higher faculties that when their bodies die there shall not be enough of the spiritual surviving to enable them to go on as living and individual organisms in another state of existence. This belief has in it some grains of reason and many a grain of mercy; and it cannot be doubted that it has enabled a considerable number of people, when tortured by the thought of endless woe for a majority of their fellow-creatures, to retain their religious faith, and to some it has been the means of retaining their mental sanity.

But I turn from this view to one more reasonable still, and far more just and merciful, — that which contemplates the ultimate perfection of even the worst of mankind. And here the first fact which greets us is that retribution is in its very nature corrective. In human hands punishment is often unlike and foreign to the deed committed. It frequently inflicts pain of some kind — of any kind, indeed — to restrain and terrify evil-doers, without regard to reforming any. But in the Divine realm punishment appears to be always a medicine, and to flow out of the sin itself. If I tell an untruth, I am not by the infinite court fined so many dollars, or incarcerated so many months; but I have the untruth I have been guilty of, root and stalk and branch and bud and fruit. I have the shame and disgust of my deed, the remorse and regret, the forfeited reputation for veracity; I appear ugly in my own eyes; and everything conspires, not merely to pain me, but, like a friend, to bid and drive me away from that sin, to make it bitter and hateful to me, so that I shall not repeat it. The drunkard grows gross and repulsive to look upon, and his nights of inebriation produce days of

discomfort and self-loathing. The voluptuary of every sort finds that his appetites and passions, when overstimulated, give him less and less enjoyment, each abused sense and proclivity of his being thus changed into a prophet of heaven, proclaiming, "This is the way of death, and not of life and peace." And so every divine retribution for sin which I can call to mind seems to be a natural and kindly one, springing for our safety out of the very evil done or indulged, the sin's other self, and with remedy and restoration in it. I cannot think of a punishment which God or Nature inflicts upon us which is of the character of *gratuitous pain*, — pain with no tendency to warning or recuperation. Our legislatures are of late enacting some of their severest laws against cruelty, against the infliction of pain by a parent upon his child, except for obvious purposes of discipline and correction. Even in our prisons all tortures and gratuitous penalties are forbidden.

Now, many times this kindly medicine of retribution does not here and now work the intended cure. It takes some men a long time to learn moral lessons, as it does others to learn mathematics. Moral restoratives do not seem to work swiftly upon some natures, as the physician's best prescription acts less rapidly upon one constitution than upon another. But here is the point: Given a thousand years, a million years, *an eternity*, and is it not sure enough that, in the hands of the Infinite Physician, these divinely appointed remedies for sin will accomplish upon all the perfect results for which they are intended? Why, *in this world* nine tenths of the people, no matter how badly they may have erred and strayed during some part of their lives, come pretty well up to the moral standard as they grow older. With fully nine tenths of the people in our own communities the divine cure

which is within retribution does largely effect its purpose, so that this great majority go out of life with a reputable character and a manly or womanly dignity. And can we not trust the eternities to restore the other tenth?

How, as civilization improves, as human love and goodness abound, our home discipline and the discipline of the State are changed; how the influences and atmospheres of our schools and of our prisons are renovated! Once it was thought enough to inflict pain vindictively, "to balance the deed;" but now the thought in home and school and prison is how kindly and benevolently to apply the cure of evil, and strengthen the transgressor against temptations to come. And men, as more and more they do this themselves, are coming more and more to demand it and expect it of their Father in heaven, and will not be satisfied if at last one sinner is to be left over unpitied and unrestored.

And among all the miracles and wonders of the nineteenth century nothing is more astonishing or sublime than the revelations of the power of human love, when brought by a wise and truly sympathetic person to bear upon a life of transgression or of weak moral powers, to recharge it with strength and courage. Some persons whom I know seem never to fail of helping sinners and stumblers out of their woe; and need we have a doubt that, in the endless years, God and his human children, changed into angels of love and mercy, will accomplish for all men what is achieved for so very many even in this short lifetime?

Again, if a person should go on forever repeating his vices and transgressions, sinking constantly into evil, would there not come a time, judging by all human experience, when he would become so morally callous and inert that no divine punishment would pain him? We

know how hardened men grow by long continued habits of evil. Some persons of my acquaintance have so benumbed themselves that they seem almost incapable of remorse or shame. Now we will suppose that a bad man continues for a very long time without reform, without being brought to his moral and spiritual senses; does not everything we see and know make it almost certain that he will some time reach a point where nothing will trouble his moral nature, where the sufferings of retribution will be impossible? I believe, from what I constantly see, that for a person to go on in increasing evil beyond a certain limit would quite destroy his moral sensibility, and change him into a stone. Everlasting moral torment, then, would seem impossible in the nature of things. The benumbed man, or the annihilated man, would escape the pains of punishment. Only the soul that is kept morally alive and quick, that feels contrition and shame, in whom the saving and restoring pangs are ever at work, — only this soul is capable of receiving divine chastisement. For this reason, if no other, I believe that every bad man is destined to reform his life. It cannot be that under a perfect plan he will be allowed to follow an evil career, and then to creep off into a state of final insensibility. If there be justice on the earth and in the heavens, this escape from retribution will not be possible. The freezing man is happy in his stupor, and would gladly be let alone by his fellows to sink away and die in painless unconsciousness; his suffering commences the moment he begins to come back to life. So a bad man's dearest craving might be to be let alone by the Divine hand, that he might swoon away pleasantly out of the remembrance of himself and his misdeeds. But, no! we must all come back to life, to our higher natures, to saving retribution, to redeeming pains. Every step I take downward I must, *ay*, *must*, retrace. And in this neces-

sity of painful return justice and mercy, penalty and cure, join hands and kiss each other.

And my final thought, already hinted, is that everybody as he grows large and grandly human, as he unfolds his nobler and sweeter manhood, demands this better fate for all men. No thoughtful person I have ever known has been able to adjust himself happily to the idea of annihilation, or that of endless wretchedness, as the culmination of human life. As men and women improve morally and religiously, they expect higher things of their Heavenly Father, — have nobler and grander hopes for their fellow-men. Men of largest faith and hope and love cannot tolerate the thought of endless evil or endless nothingness, as the best fate God could provide for the mass of his children beyond this world.

Well, friends, let us rise up to this larger, more reasonable, and more merciful faith. It will make us stronger and braver, fuller of sweet affections and generous helpfulness. *Eternal life*, *eternal love*, *eternal hope*, — without these existence is a doubtful good, nay, a positive calamity.

Glad and strong is he who vitally believes —

> "That nothing walks with aimless feet;
> That not one life shall be destroyed
> Or cast as rubbish to the void,
> When God hath made the pile complete;
> That not a worm is cloven in vain,
> That not a moth with vain desire
> Is shrivelled in a fruitless fire,
> Or but subserves another's gain.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I can but trust that good shall fall
> At last — far off — at last, to all,
> And every winter change to spring."

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THE LOGIC OF PRAYER.

For he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek after Him. — Hebrews xi. 6.

No religious truth or principle or habit that rests upon a secure basis ever loses anything by close investigation. The one thing religion has to fear is not knowledge, but ignorance, — not inquiry, but indifference and neglect. The worst foes of faith are not the sceptics, but the worldlings. That which is based upon fact and experience can always afford to be challenged; you may look into it and under it and around it, and it will survive the keenest scrutiny. Religion, properly understood, solicits neither apologies nor concessions, but patient and fearless research. It is in this spirit that we would examine into the *raison d'être* of those universal instincts of wonder, reverence, worship, which find a normal outlet in prayer. The laws of our spiritual nature do not forbid such inquiry, for they are just as open to research as the laws of the physical world. Absolute knowledge is not to be acquired in one or the other; but approximate truth is accessible in both, and in all essential respects by precisely the same processes; that is, by the use of all the faculties of our nature, — the senses, the intellect, the conscience, the religious affections. We are invited to see things with the entire soul, and through every avenue or inlet or instrument which is turned toward the universe in which we live, — not with the eye of sense alone, nor

yet exclusively by the cold light of reason, nor wholly by the religious sentiments, but through each and all of these many windows out of which the human soul has ever looked upon life.

The Psalmist says, "O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come;" and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews declares that he who "cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek after Him." It is clear, then, that prayer is conscious approach to God. It is an attitude of the soul in the presence of One with whom there is the certainty of communion, and it is an approach with a purpose. It does not necessarily suggest a localization of deity; but it does imply the contact of one soul with another soul, — a fellowship between two persons possessing attributes akin, and alike, if not in degree, at least in kind. Prayer is not a relation between things, but between persons, who may and do find each other out. As a spiritual experience, it is distinct from the amazement with which the astronomer gazes into the vast expanse of heaven, or the rapture with which the artist glows before a landscape, a statue, or a picture. It is not a mere ecstasy that rises and falls, begins and ends, in the soul which feels it. We do not pray when we soliloquize or indulge in reverie, or mechanically go through a round of set performances; that is not prayer. Worship to be genuine must have a reality, directness, vitality of reciprocal personal feeling and influence, such as can only exist between one personality and another. We do not enter into the spirit of prayer when we contemplate mechanical forces or laws, whether singly or collectively, no matter how much we may endow these impersonal quantities. We may fear them or admire them, — fear them when they are maleficent, or admire them when they are beautiful; but the soul does not turn its hungering needs to them, or show its love or shed its tears in their

presence. None of the feelings which enter into prayer is kindled by an unconscious something, we know not what, which, for some reason we cannot understand, is mysteriously developing itself in the universe. We proffer no request to a mere idol of the mind; we do not offer our gratitude, reverence, trust, obedience to an inscrutable and omnipotent something. Dispense with belief in an Infinite Mind that thinks, wills, loves, and holds personal relations with mankind, and substitute therefor an impersonal something, less than ourselves in the scale of being and not greater, and to all intents and purposes prayer is a futility. Personality is the most perfect attribute of being with which we are acquainted. It may be inadequate for the purpose to which we put it when we apply it to God; but until some higher conception dawns upon us, we are not likely to relinquish it. And so prayer is an act in which one person comes to another for a purpose. It is the language of the soul to him upon whom it depends. It is the sesame of recognition between the Spirit who is everywhere and the soul that clings to the Eternal. That is the logic of prayer. There is a God from whom no barriers can keep us, who is accessible to each; and to come to him is not necessarily to go to this place or to that, but to be vividly conscious of his presence and to feel that in him there is a response to our need, our suffering, our affection, our penitence.

Such belief is indispensable to the validity of prayer, for "he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek after Him." Let there be any hesitation or uncertainty about this, and prayer will soon cease to be a normal habit of the soul. But, once assured of this, nothing is more natural, nothing more beautiful. Then we feel that our words light upon a listening ear, our sighs provoke a sympathy which comes to our aid, even our unspoken thoughts and emotions are not lost in a

dreary solitude, but are known to him with whom we have to do. Then all that we ask is not, Does God hear prayer? but, Can he be indifferent to the cries and tears of his children? Our answer is, No. The experience of men in all ages goes to prove that there is a divine response to human need. Our expressions of gratitude and our longings for help and guidance are not purposeless mockeries, kindled only to be quenched, provoked only to be defrauded. The very act of prayer would often seem to be the appointed channel along which God comes to our relief; and suppliants in every age have received light and life and joy while the words of prayer were on their lips. Your carping criticism goes for nothing in the face of an experience which is universal: and thousands of perplexed, feeble, troubled, penitent souls will tell you with an unwavering voice, as of that which they know from manifold experience, not only that God is, but that he is a rewarder of them that seek after him.

But there are prayers and prayers. It is not probable that God answers every petition that is presented to him, or that he answers prayer in the precise form in which it is presented. From all that we know it would seem as if he conditioned some benefits upon devotion and others upon toil and effort. There are blessings which come to us, not at the end of prayer, but at the end of work; there are some that answer our needs, and others that are thrown in as the gifts of a royal bounty. But there are spiritual benedictions — such as peace of mind, a new-born strength, a new-born zeal, a power of endurance, a patience under severe trial, a spirit of quiet resignation, a feeling of mysterious comfort in sorrow, a ray of hope in despondency, a flood of faith and courage in doubt and darkness — which come in answer to prayer, and which come in no other way. Prayer has lifted many a veil and lightened many a burden, healed many a wound and comforted many a grief,

which human sympathy could not touch. Again and again have bewildered and despondent men and women, to whom life was a painful problem, found when their eyes were closed in prayer, light which somehow did not come to them in the full blaze of day ; and the enigma which reason could not unravel has solved itself in the attitude and hour of prayer.

But it must not be forgotten that we are ignorant and indolent and superstitious, and often know not what to pray for. We ask amiss, or expect God to condone our offences or grant us privileges we do not merit. We break his laws, and then pray to be spared the consequences of our wrong-doing ; we are thriftless and improvident, and then pray to be relieved of the pangs of poverty ; we are reckless of our health, and then murmur when sickness overtakes us ; we court calamities, and then wonder why they come ; we cherish some selfish ambition, which if encouraged might work us harm, and pray lustily for its fulfilment, regardless of how the granting of our request may affect us or the world, of which we are only an infinitesimal portion ; we ask that advantages may come to us by chance which God confers by law. We offer irreverent prayers, which only betray our ignorance of facts with which we ought to be familiar ; we present selfish requests which a God who cares for the rest of the world cannot heed ; and often enough we beseech the Almighty to do things for us which he evidently intends that we shall do for ourselves. These are prayers to which there can be no response.

Another difficulty arises in connection with the reasonableness of prayer which cannot be overlooked. The question is often asked, "Why need we pray, when God seems to deal with us only through stable laws which prayers cannot alter? Why pray for sunshine or for rain, when the weather that comes to us is determined long before it reaches us, and when what may be desirable for some

people may prove undesirable for others? It is surely a profitless thing to pray against a rising or a falling barometer." There is much truth in this assertion of the sovereignty of law. Prayer cannot work miracles, if by miracles we mean a violation or suspension of the laws upon which the integrity of the universe depends. But when this has been admitted, is there not some danger in these days of falling into the habit of recognizing in God nothing but law? Are we reduced to the alternative of conceiving of the world as subject to caprice, or else as lying in the lap of inflexible and relentless law? Must we deny to God the volition and spontaneity which is the cardinal prerogative of our own being? Surely God is not an infinite machine, nor is his providence mere circular movement. He is a divine being, with all the attributes of intelligence, will, eternal righteousness; and it answers neither to the facts of Nature nor to the experiences of mankind to restrict his methods, to petrify his purposes, and envelop him with the limiting bounds of law. It is true that to us he seems to work by definite methods to definite ends; but the power which originates and employs those methods can create others, or modify to its purpose those it has already made; and while much there is in the order of Nature and of life which may be referred to law, there is a large margin in which new forces are intercepted, and incalculable turns are given to events, and fresh purposes are being fulfilled. We have not so completely covered the universe with law that there is no room for the free action of an almighty will. There is no need of God working a miracle, or in anywise interfering with the operation of his own laws; but we must enlarge our conception of what law includes and remember that there are great moral and spiritual methods by which God answers prayer; and by subordinating one law to another or combining his laws he can and does meet the necessities of mankind and control the

current of human affairs. Place an inscrutable Force upon the throne of the universe, and there is no field for volition and no room for prayer; but admit that an Infinite Spirit is there that wills, thinks, and feels, and regard law as the method of his mind, and then the fervent and effectual prayer of a righteous man availeth much.

But it is asked, "Does God need our prayers? Can he take any delight in the desires or feelings of his creatures?" Yes, if what are intelligence and sympathy and love in us be any reflection of what they are in him. It is the law of all self-conscious natures to exchange reciprocal affinities. It would be idle to expect any response to our prayers from an unconscious something with which we have nothing in common. But if the relation between ourselves and God be anything like that between an earthly parent and his children, it must delight him to know that we realize his goodness, are thankful for his kindness, and give to him the reverence and worship of our hearts. Not to do so would be unnatural. And so from the beginning until now the instinct of prayer has been the strongest instinct in our nature.

> "Not from a vain or shallow thought
> His awful Jove young Phidias brought;
> Never from lips of cunning fell
> The thrilling Delphic oracle;
> Out from the heart of Nature rolled
> The burdens of the Bible old;
> The litanies of nations came,
> Like the volcano's tongue of flame,
> Up from the burning core below, —
> The canticles of love and woe;
> The hand that rounded Peter's dome
> And groined the aisles of Christian Rome
> Wrought in a sad sincerity;
> Himself from God he could not free;
> He builded better than he knew, —
> The conscious stone to beauty grew."

Prayer has been coeval with speech; and the prayers of the ages are among the most ancient forms of language.

How are we to account for their existence? If we regard all human progress as effected through some natural correspondence between things and their environment, we cannot conceive the evolution of any powers or faculties where such correspondence has no existence. Birds could never have been evolved in the abyss of ocean; and buffaloes could not have existed before the slimy ooze in which reptiles flourished had become dry land. How, therefore, the human spirit which has prayed and reverenced and worshipped, could have been evolved without some appropriate sphere for its activity and usefulness, some forces and opportunities around to excite and draw out the religious instincts, — in a word, how a spiritual and supplicating being like man could have been evolved without a responsive and sympathetic God and a spiritual environment is a problem to which no solution can be found.

It is impossible in brief space to deal with all the questions about prayer which trouble thoughtful minds. To do this would require an exhaustive survey of religion and religious controversy. But when once the possibility of divine activity in response to man's appeal has been admitted on the one side, and the supremacy and constancy of the divine will has been recognized on the other, the main points in dispute have been conceded. All other difficulties are not of much consequence. And when we remember how one mind can influence another, how one human heart can comfort and inspire another, is it so difficult, after all, to realize the mystery of communion with God? Is it so hard to believe that he from whom we derive all our powers can flood our souls with his presence and quicken them with his energy? Or so difficult to

> "Revere the Maker; fetch thine eye
> Up to his style and manners of the sky"?

It would rather seem to be both a duty and a privilege to talk with the Unseen Friend about everything that deeply concerns us. In our exultant moods we may praise him

with joyful lips; in our penitent hours we may ask his pity and forgiveness; in the darkness of life we may cry with confidence to him for light; when burdens are heavy and trials are hard we may beseech him for strength to bear them; and when our own resources fail us, and all the props upon which we are wont to lean cease to support us, it is fitting to cast all our care upon him with the solid assurance that he careth for us.

It is true that we cannot by our prayer turn the All-Wise from his wisdom or the All-Good from his goodness, but we can and do lift ourselves into closer harmony with his wisdom and goodness, and feel all through our wills the thrill of his presence and the rapture of his love. And against these undoubted experiences of mankind it is vain to argue. Our logic may not always account for the facts; but that is not the fault of the facts. When we know from actual daily experience that in the hour of prayer a strength other than our own has stolen in upon us, a light has shone to dispel our gloom, a calm has descended upon our troubled spirits, a strange comfort has come to the relief of our sorrow, we are confident enough of the reality of our experience, though it may puzzle us fully to interpret it. And so we pray, never doubting that our prayers are heard, and that He who has built Himself an altar in every heart will send the consuming fire, and accept the offering that we bring to Him. We do not pray to bring down God, or to turn him round to our present fancies and desires, but to find uplifting and turning round ourselves in the direction of his nature. Each one among us is satisfied to worship him as his child, contented to remain —

> "Man, and nothing more, —
> Man who, as man conceiving, hopes and fears,
> And craves and deprecates, and loves and loathes,
> And bids God help him till death touch his eyes."

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By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

We advise our people, and especially our ministers, to read this book. It is well written and able. It will be to them a rich source of instruction. It is the fairest book, from a Unitarian position, that we have seen for a long time, though abundantly open to criticism. — *Congregationalist* (*Orthodox*), *Boston.*

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We have read it with pleasure, even where its conclusions or processes do not fully commend themselves to our mind. Dr. Clarke writes with great clearness and beauty and force. His criticisms are acute, his spirit conciliatory, his method fair, his expressions of faith definite. . . . The volume is full of matter; and we commend it to every thoughtful reader, not that its conclusions may be accepted, but that its matter may be carefully weighed. — *Christian Ambassador* (*Universalist*), *New York.*

It deals vigorously with the great questions by which the course of religious thought in our times is being agitated. It will naturally have a general reading with ministers. Withal the lovers of truth welcome every such honest discussion. The truth it brings out will live; the errors it contains will be blown away. — *Christian Mirror* (*Orthodox*), *Portland, Me.*

The reputation of the author of this volume will attract attention to its contents. Whatever may be the first prejudice against Mr. Clarke as a Unitarian, the candid reader will concede that he is an honest as well as a strong advocate for his faith. . . . We think that no one will deny, after perusing this volume, that the author has presented his points with zeal and eloquence. — *Providence* (*R. I.*) *Journal.*

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TEACHING

OF

THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

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BOSTON.

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The Brotherhood of Man.
The Leadership of Jesus.
Salvation by Character.
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(*As expressed by the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1894.*)

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PREFATORY NOTE.

In 1875 Philotheos Bryennios, of repute as a bishop and scholar of the Greek Church, gave a pleasant surprise to the learned world by announcing that some important early Christian manuscripts had been found by him in the Library of the Most Holy Sepulchre, — a monastery of Phanar, in Constantinople, belonging to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. These manuscripts were in Greek, on small leaves of parchment; and among them was a copy of "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," a copy purporting to have been made, like the rest, in 1056, by a writer who signed himself "Leon, notary and sinner." It had long been known that some such document belonged to the primitive literature of the Church; but it had been given up for lost.

In 1883 Bryennios published the "Teaching," with his own elaborate notes, and numerous translations have appeared. From its archaic character and contents, and from other considerations, it is believed that the original document, which may have been modified (notice the twofold heading), is authentic, and was written in the second century;[1] that its author was probably a simple-minded Jew-Christian; and that it was used for the instruction of catechumens and converts in "the way" of Christian life, with little reference to doctrinal beliefs. It thus acquires interest and value as one illustration of Christian feeling and *practice* in that early or sub-apostolic period when the faith had neither been elucidated nor adulterated by scholarship; when "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble," had heeded the call of the gospel;

[1] "The supposition that it was written before the year 120 is doubtful; before the year 100, very improbable. The whole range between 120 and 165 must be held open for it; and within this period the earlier dates encounter fewer difficulties than the later." (Harnack's Die Apostellehre und die Judischen Beiden Wege. Leipzig, 1886, p. 24.)

when the new religion was still an enthusiasm of the uncultured and the poor; when diversities of belief were held with little challenge or breach of fellowship; when the life-blood of the Church had not ebbed away through the wounds made by dogmatic dissensions; when Christianity wore the aspect of a moral revolt against the sordidness, selfishness, and ruinous sensuality of ancient society; when the ethical impression made by the Sermon on the Mount and by the message of the Apostles was still fresh, so that the teachers and guides of the infant Church were chiefly urgent "that they who believed in God should be careful to maintain good works." Read in this light, and with discrimination, the "Teaching" is more and better than a literary curiosity; it lights, as with a little candle, an obscure period of church history; it still makes a powerful appeal to conscience, and it feeds aspiration.

This edition is based on a translation made by Rev. C. C. Starbuck, and printed in the "Andover Review" for April, 1884; which, with the translator's approval, has been carefully revised by a competent hand and brought into harmony with the revised edition of the Greek text, produced in *fac-simile* by Prof. J. Rendel Harris (1887). Where the Greek is identical with that of the New Testament, the rendering has been made to agree, the revision of 1881 being taken as the standard; and, as in our English Bible, supplementary words not contained in the original are printed in italics. In a few instances, alternate or explanatory renderings have been inserted, and are enclosed in brackets. The text of the original is not broken up into chapters, the present divisions having been introduced by the first editor, Bryennios.

For permission to use this material, the publishers return thanks to the translator, the reviser, and the editors of the "Andover Review."

TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

TEACHING OF THE LORD THROUGH THE TWELVE APOSTLES TO THE GENTILES.

Chapter I. There are two ways, one of life and one of death; and a great difference between the two ways Now the way of life is this: first, thou shalt love the God that made thee; secondly, thy neighbor as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldest should not happen to thee, do not thou to another. Now of these words the teaching is this: Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for them that persecute you. For what thank if ye love them that love you? Do not even the Gentiles the same? But love ye them that hate you and ye shall not have an enemy. Abstain from fleshly and bodily lusts. If any man give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect. If any man compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain. If any man take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also. If any man take from thee thine own, ask it not again; for neither canst thou. Give to every one that asketh thee and ask it not again; for to all doth the Father will that there be given of *his* own free gifts. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment; for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth; for if any man receiveth having need, he shall be guiltless; but he that hath not need shall give account, why he received and for what; and having come into custody, he shall be examined concerning what things he hath practised, and shall not come out thence until he have paid the last farthing. But concern

ing this also hath it been said: Let thine alms sweat into thy hands, until thou know to whom thou shouldst give.

CHAPTER II. And a second commandment of the Teaching: Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not seduce boys; thou shalt not commit fornication; thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not use magic; thou shalt not use sorcery; thou shalt not kill a child by abortion, nor what has been born shalt thou put to death. Thou shalt not covet the things that are thy neighbor's; thou shalt not forswear thyself: thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not speak evil; thou shalt not bear a grudge. Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued; for a snare of death is the double tongue. Thy speech shall not be false, nor empty, but fulfilled by deed. Thou shalt not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor malicious, nor haughty. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbor. Thou shalt not hate any man, but some shalt thou reprove, and for some shalt thou pray, and some shalt thou love above thy life.

CHAPTER III. My child, flee from every evil thing and from everything like it. Be not soon angry: for anger leadeth to murder: nor jealous, nor contentious, nor wrathful; for of all these things are murders engendered. My child, be not lustful; for lust leadeth to fornication: nor a filthy talker, nor of lofty eye; for of all these things are adulteries engendered. My child, be not an observer of omens; since it leadeth unto idolatry: nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a purifier, neither be thou willing to look at these things; for of all these things is idolatry engendered. My child, be not a liar; since a lie leadeth unto theft: nor a lover of money, nor vainglorious; for of all these things are thefts engendered. My child, be not a murmurer; since it leadeth unto blasphemy: nor self-

willed, nor evil-minded; for of all these things are blasphemies engendered. But be thou meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Be long-suffering, and merciful, and guileless, and quiet, and good; and continually trembling at the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor shalt thou give to thy soul audacity. Thy soul shall not be joined with lofty ones, but with righteous and lowly ones shalt thou hold converse. The visitations that befall thee shalt thou receive as good, knowing that without God nothing cometh to pass.

Chapter IV. My child, of him that speaketh to thee the word of God shalt thou be mindful night and day; thou shalt honor him as the Lord; for whence the *divine* lordship is spoken, there is the Lord. And thou shalt daily seek out the faces of the saints, that thou mayest rest upon their words. Thou shalt not be desirous of division, but shalt set contenders at peace. Thou shalt judge righteously, thou shalt have no respect of persons in reproving for trespasses. Thou shalt not be double-minded [i. e. waver in soul] whether it shall be or not. Be not a stretcher forth of the hands in respect of receiving, but in respect of giving a contracter *of them;* if thou have, through thy hands shalt thou give redemption for thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor giving shalt thou murmur; for thou shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward. Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in need, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own; for if ye are sharers in the immortal thing, how much more in the mortal things. Thou shalt not take away thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from *their* youth shalt teach *them* the fear of God. Thou shalt not command in thy bitterness thy servant or handmaid who hope in the same God, lest haply they shall not fear the God who is over both;

for he cometh not to call with respect of persons, but to them whom the Spirit hath prepared. But ye, the servants, shall be subject to your lords as to a type of God in modesty and fear. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy, and everything that is not pleasing to the Lord. Thou shalt in no wise forsake the Lord's commandments, but thou shalt observe what things thou didst receive, neither adding nor taking away. In the congregation thou shalt confess thy trespasses, and thou shalt not draw near for thy prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

CHAPTER V. But the way of death is this: first of all it is evil and full of curse; murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, sorceries, extortions, false witnessings, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, haughtiness, malice, self-will, covetousness, filthy talking, jealousy, audaciousness, loftiness, boasting: persecutors of good men, hating truth, loving falsehood, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to good nor to righteous judgment, watching not unto good, but unto evil; far from whom are meekness and patience, loving vain things, pursuing a recompense, not pitying a poor man, not toiling for him that is bowed down with toil, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, destroyers of the thing formed of God, turning away from him that is in need, oppressing him that is afflicted, rich men's advocates, poor men's lawless judges, utterly sinful. May ye be delivered, children, from all these.

CHAPTER VI. See that no one lead thee astray from this way of the Teaching; since, God excepted, it teacheth thee. For if indeed thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect: but if thou art not able, what thou art able that do. And concerning food, what

thou art able bear: but of that which is sacrificed to idols beware greatly; for it is a service of dead gods.

Chapter VII. Now concerning baptism, baptize ye thus: having said all these things beforehand, baptize ye into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost in living water. But if thou have not living water, baptize into other water; and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou have neither, pour out water thrice upon the head into the name of Father and Son and Holy Ghost. And before the baptism let the baptizer fast and the baptized, and whatever others can: and thou shalt command the baptized to fast for one or two days beforehand.

Chapter VIII. And let not your fastings be with the hypocrites: for they fast on the second of the week and the fifth; but do ye fast the fourth, and Preparation. Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in his gospel, so pray ye: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done as in heaven so on earth Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil *one* [*or* evil]. For thine is the power and the glory forever. Thrice in the day so pray ye.

Chapter IX. Now concerning the Thanksgiving [*or* Eucharist], give ye thanks thus: First concerning the cup: We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou madest known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee *be* the glory forever And concerning the broken *bread:* We give thanks to thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou

madest known to us through Jesus thy servant: to thee *be* the glory forever. As this broken *bread* was scattered abroad over the mountains, and being gathered together became one, so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom: for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever. But let no one eat or drink of your Thanksgiving [*or* Eucharist], but those baptized into the name of the Lord: for concerning this also hath the Lord said: Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

CHAPTER X. And after being filled, give ye thanks thus: We give thanks to thee, Holy Father, for thy holy name which thou causedst to dwell [*lit.* tabernacle] in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou madest known to us through Jesus, thy servant: to thee *be* the glory forever. Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for thy name's sake; both food and drink didst thou give to men to enjoy, that they might give thanks to thee; but to us didst thou grant spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy servant. Before all things we give thanks to thee that thou art mighty: to thee *be* the glory forever. Remember, Lord, thy church, to deliver it from every evil, and to make it perfect in thy love; and gather it together from the four winds, the sanctified *church*, into thy kingdom which thou didst prepare for it: for thine is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any one is holy, let him come: if any one is not, let him repent: Maranatha. Amen. But permit ye the prophets to give thanks as much as they will.

CHAPTER XI. Whosoever therefore shall come and teach all these things, the aforesaid, receive him: but if he

that teacheth shall himself turn and teach another teaching to destroy *this*, do not hear him; but if to increase righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. And concerning the Apostles and Prophets according to the ordinance of the gospel, do thus: Let every apostle coming unto you be received as the Lord; but he shall not remain one day, but if there be need the second also; but if he remain three, he is a false prophet. And let the apostle when he goeth forth take nothing save bread *to suffice* until he lodge; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. And every prophet speaking in the Spirit ye shall not try nor judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. But not every one that speaketh in the Spirit is a prophet, but *only* if he have the behavior [*or* ways (Lat. *mores*)] of the Lord. From his behavior therefore shall the false prophet be known and the prophet. And every prophet ordaining a table in the Spirit will not eat thereof; or else he is a false prophet: and every prophet teaching the truth, if what things he teacheth he doeth not, is a false prophet. And every prophet approved, true, acting in reference to the mystery of the Church here below [*or* in reference to a cosmic symbol of the church (cf. e. g. Eph. v. 32)], but not teaching to do what things he himself doeth, shall not be judged before you; for with God hath he his judgment: for in like manner did the old prophets also. But whosoever shall say in the Spirit, Give me money or aught else, ye shall not hear him; but if concerning others that are in want, he bid *you* to give, let no one judge him.

Chapter XII. And let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received, and then having proved him ye shall know *him;* for ye shall have understanding right and left. If he that cometh is a wayfarer, help him as

much as ye are able; but he shall not remain with you except two or three days, if need be. But if he willeth to dwell with you, being a craftsman, let him work and eat: but if he hath not a craft, provide according to your understanding, how he a Christian shall not live idle among you. And if he willeth not so to do, he is one that maketh merchandise of Christ: beware of such.

CHAPTER XIII. And every true prophet that willeth to dwell with you, is worthy of his food. In like manner a true teacher himself also is worthy, even as the workman, of his food. All first-fruits, therefore, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of both oxen and sheep, shalt thou take and give the first fruits to the prophets; for it is they that are your chief priests. But if ye have not a prophet, give to the poor. And if thou make a batch *of bread*, take the first-fruits and give according to the commandment. In like manner when thou openest a jar of wine or oil, take the first-fruits and give to the prophets; and of money also and raiment and every possession take the first-fruits, as it may seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAPTER XIV. And every Lord's Day of the Lord gather yourselves together and break bread; and give thanks, having also confessed your trespasses, that our sacrifice may be pure. And let no one that hath a difference with his fellow come together with you until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice be not defiled: for this is that spoken by the Lord, In every place and time offer me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name marvellous among the Gentiles.

CHAPTER XV. Appoint therefore unto yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and not

lovers of money and true and approved: for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Do not therefore contemn them; for themselves are your honored ones with the prophets and teachers.

And reprove ye one another; not in wrath but in peace, as ye have *it* in the gospel: and to every one erring against another let no one speak, neither let him hear *aught* from you until he repent. And your prayers and alms and all *your* acts so do as ye have *it* in the gospel of our Lord.

CHAPTER XVI. Watch for your life. Let your lamps not go out, and let your loins not be unloosed, but be ye ready; for ye know not the hour wherein our Lord cometh. And often shall ye be gathered together, seeking the things befitting your souls: for the whole time of your faith shall not profit you except ye be made perfect in the last time [*lit.* season]. For in the last days shall the false prophets be multiplied and the corrupters, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves and love shall be turned into hate: for when iniquity increaseth, they shall hate one another and persecute and deliver up. And then shall appear the world-deceiver as Son of God; and he shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands; and he shall do abominable things which never have come to pass since the world began. Then shall the creation of men come into the burning of proving, and many shall be caused to stumble and shall perish; but they that have endured in their faith shall be saved by the curse itself. And then shall appear the signs of the truth: first, the sign of the expansion [i. e. the Crucifix] in heaven; then the sign of the voice of the trumpet; and the third the resurrection of the dead: yet not of all, but as was said, The Lord shall come and all the saints with Him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

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CHARLES G. AMES, D.D.

MINISTER OF THE CHURCH OF THE DISCIPLES, BOSTON.

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onward and upward forever.

Typical Covenant of a Unitarian Church.

In the love of the truth, and the spirit of Jesus Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man.

Our Declaration

(*As expressed in the By-Laws of the American Unitarian Association*).

"The object of the American Unitarian Association shall be to diffuse the knowledge and promote the interests of pure Christianity; and all Unitarian Christians shall be invited to unite and co-operate with it for that purpose."

(*As expressed by the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1894.*)

"These Churches accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man.

"The Conference recognizes the fact that its constituency is Congregational in tradition and polity. Therefore, it declares that nothing in this Constitution is to be construed as an authoritative test; and we cordially invite to our working fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our spirit and our practical aims."

WILL MANKIND OUTGROW RELIGION?

"THINE IS THE KINGDOM, THE POWER, AND THE GLORY, FOREVER."

THUS, through the ages, in humility or in exultation, has ascended the acknowledgment of human dependency and divine supremacy. Will mankind always say "Amen" to this sublime ascription? or will the chorus of worship and praise die into silence, because unsupported by the faith of the heart?

Through all the historic past, man has felt himself held fast to a Supreme Power by a sacred bond of reverence, dependence, mystery, trust, and duty. This bond has been called "religion" because it is the ligament, or tie, which is supposed to *bind back* the produced finite being to its Infinite Source, and thus to connect each with all, and all with each. The reflecting man, however weak, blind, and confused, not only tries to form some conception of himself, of the world, and of its Author, but he also feels himself under a kind of spell, as if his little life were beset, contained, and ruled by a larger Life. Even the code of morality, by which experience has taught him to regulate his outward and inward conduct, has seemed to him like the revelation and mandate of a Will above his own; and self-approval or self-disapproval has affected him like the whispering of a divine Voice. So it has been,

that, whether his religion made him crouch in terror amid the shadows or stand erect in light and freedom as a glad child of the Highest, it has ever carried within it a sense of *relationship to the Unseen*. Thus have all the faiths, worships, and liturgies of the ages been fashioned; as if every kindred, tongue, and nation were moved by a common impulse to cry, "Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory!"

Will all this, or something like this, go on forever? Or will the supposed bond dissolve, and man find himself supreme master or helpless plaything of nature and destiny? Is religion a permanent fact, or is it only one transient phase of human experience, to be outgrown as the race rises into maturer reasonableness and self-possession? Some say we are already leaving religion behind. Certainly, in the more enlightened lands, there is wide-spread doubt and misgiving; the churches seem to depend timidly on tradition and custom, as if their vitality were drawn from the past rather than from faith in the real Presence; belief is everywhere on the defensive; multitudes feel no attraction toward any form of worship, and seem to live and die without the sense of God. May they not live and die just as well? Some voices tell us so.

Mr. Justice Stephen, of England, says, "The great difficulty in the way of all religions is that mankind do not like them and do not want them." He goes on to argue that if religion should be given up entirely, the world would be greatly changed in some respects, but we should get on very well without religion, because human life would be regulated and guided by rational and very safe principles, — such as enlightened self-interest and natural affection. Other serious persons are saying the same thing; perhaps many are thinking, or inclining to think, that progress moves in that direction.

Religion, they tell us philosophically, belongs to an early stage of evolution. The human race, in its long infancy of many thousands of years, has been half-asleep, and has had dreams, good and bad, — dreams of gods and devils, of heavens and hells. As the growing man-child awakes, shakes off his nightmare, and looks around, his religious notions will vanish like other phantoms of darkness and twilight; he will find himself "alone in nature," and will trust to his own faculties and to the service of the physical forces.

Peter Cooper once told me what in his youth he heard from an old man on a canal-boat: "In their ignorance and fear, men built altars. Religion became a trade. The priests ate roast beef, and the people stared." May we take this as a summary of religious history? An old Roman writer says, "All religions are alike sublime to the vulgar, useful to the politician, ridiculous to the philosopher." John Adams once said, in a pet, "This would be a pretty good world, if only there were no religion in it;" but, on cooler second thought, he doubted if it would be a good world. A timid citizen disturbed by the advance of Romanism, asked, "Is our next war to be a war of religion?" "No," was the assuring answer; "we have n't got any religion to fight for."

But not everybody can be indifferent or careless. To many it is a time of honest difficulty and trouble of spirit; they hardly know what to believe or how to guide their life; and they feel as if the foundations of faith, hope, and duty were giving way. Some say, "Let us not ask troublesome questions, but hold fast to the faith of our fathers. Let us say our prayers and go to sleep; that will be safest." Some strain their eyes to get a peep into the darkness; some shut their eyes for fear of seeing something, or for the sadder fear that there is nothing to

be seen: some whistle to keep their courage up: some mock; perhaps some are calm enough to look all facts in the face, and to wait patiently for more light.

There is wide dissatisfaction with the old way of putting things. In one city a prominent man said to me, "I go to the most fashionable and wealthy church. It is filled with our most intelligent people. We go through the motions and responses in regular order; but when we get out on the sidewalk, gentlemen say to each other, 'Do you believe that?' 'No, not a word of it: but 't is all well enough.'" In another city an official member of one of the largest churches gives it as his opinion that there is not one well-informed man in the congregation who does not sometimes ask if it can be possible the minister expects the people to believe what he preaches. Intimations of this kind come from all directions. Does it mean that religion is being outgrown? Or does it mean that what is *called* religion is under suspicion and challenge, because it does not altogether deserve the name?

It is not worth while to waste words on those who treat these matters with levity and scoffing; but I only report what I know, from wide intercourse, to be true of increasing numbers of thoughtful and earnest men and women. Justly or unjustly, their criticism on what is called religion runs on such lines as these: —

Most of the religious people, say they, seem not to be in earnest. If they are kind and just, it cannot be traced to their religion. Neither in conduct nor in motives do they exhibit superior virtue; and profession hangs loosely on them like a cloak. Insincerity is a leading product of church industry. The tendency is to develop an affectation of unreal sentiments and qualities, and to make people imagine themselves better than they are. Therefore religion is inconsistent with good morals.

Or if they are really in earnest, so much the worse; for their religion unfits them for common life. It puts nonnatural qualities in the place of simple manliness and womanliness. It makes them uncomfortable, as if they wore straight-jackets. Their life becomes austere, sad, solitary, gloomy, morbid; it smells of the tomb. They groan when they pray; and when they come among their fellow-men their presence is felt as a wet blanket, and not as an inspiration of good cheer. Therefore, say these critics, religion is inconsistent with sanity and happiness.

Again, it is said, if religion means much to a man, it is apt to make him intolerant and proscriptive. He thinks that he and his kind have more rights than their neighbors. He crowds his opinions and his prayers on other people. He demands that we shall accept his doctrines and authorities on trust. He insists we shall hear and read what supports his views, and would gladly suppress the other side. He speaks and writes venomously, like a partisan. And acting in this narrow spirit, great combinations of religious men set up systems of priestly power and church domination to overawe and control the human mind, and to build high walls of bigotry and exclusiveness between those who ought to live together as brethren. Therefore religion is contrary to liberty and charity.

Look at history, they say further. See how religion has obstructed the upward path of humanity by decrying this world, by obscuring intelligence, by fostering dependence and credulity, by searing mankind out of the use of their faculties, by disparaging science, by denouncing free inquiry, by keeping alive what ought to die, and by strangling new-born aspirations, or prohibiting every movement it could not control. In the name of progress, they cry, let us have done with it forever!

So, then, you object to religion because it is opposed to good morals, to welfare, to mental freedom, to good-will among men, and to the advance of the race. You believe, then, in the moral order, and in moral conditions of happiness. You believe that men are bound together by the tie of a common nature. You demand of these mistaken religious people a deeper sincerity, a purer principle of life. You blame them for accepting too low a standard of character. But in the very act of impeaching religion you seem to proclaim a law above self-will and blind impulse; you urge that men should be loyal to an ideal; your theory of life and of the universe implies faith in an upward movement toward perfection. Thus the grandest affirmation is folded in the heart of your denial.

Give us your hand; yours is a profession of religion! Your objections to what is *called* religion are really demands for a better article, — the very thing we want. You have simply exposed and branded the counterfeit, — a service for which all friends of the genuine should thank you. And will you not be thankful in return, if it grows clear that the faults and deficiencies of religious people, — their errors of belief, their blundering methods, their perversities of temper, and their shocking crimes against civilization and humanity, — are no part of true religion, but are fairly chargeable to their want of it? Cant, rant, superstition, bigotry, obscurantism, false conservatism, hypocrisy, empty formalism, priestcraft, — what has true religion to do with these but to expel them from the heart of man, and to drive them off the face of the earth? And can the objector claim exemption from the frailties of judgment or the base principles and passions which have produced these errors and evils? Will he escape from the false by holding aloof from the true? Are not the

follies of religious men and institutions a part of the general imperfection of the race? How shall any of us win deliverance from the bondage of the lower law, except by rising into the freedom of the higher?

But the worst enemies of religion are not those who turn away in disgust from its perversions. "Not they are profane who reject the gods of the vulgar, but they who accept them," says Lucretius. Yet it may be partly a question of words. If men stop their ears to shut out harsh and jarring sounds, it will not do to conclude that they hate music. They may love it all too well to listen. And if I hold up some theological daub, and tell them it is a portrait of Deity, will it be strange if some take me at my word, and cry out, "Then we are atheists"? Yet when did men ever deny or doubt the reality of the universe, merely because science gave absurd or inadequate explanations?

Sweep away all that is irrational in creeds or obstructive in churches; make an end of wolfish and sheepish types of piety and canting forms of philanthropy; lead mankind onward and upward into the full, clear light of reason and the large freedom of nature, — and will religion have disappeared? Only as the sun disappears when men come out of caverns and cellars, and find the mists of morning swept from the wide firmament of blue and gold.

Outgrow religion? Plainly enough that depends on what you mean by religion. If you mean some particular way of thinking about God and man and their relations, these are great subjects, about which we have much to learn; and —

"The thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

No doctrinal statement is likely to be a finality. If you mean some particular fashion of feeling, it is not likely that the pious experiences of one age will ever be repeated in another. If you mean the structure and customs of some particular church, it seems to be in the order of things that institutions should come and go like the leaves of the forest. If by religion you mean blindness, it is to be hoped that men will get their eyes open. If you mean amiable weakness or cowardly and servile submission to masters, there will be less and less of these as we grow in mental and moral vigor, and all strong souls will break their chains. So far as our life is obscured by the ugly shadows of superstition, these will vanish with the advance of daylight. And if by religion you mean false alarm, a reign of terror which sees an Almighty Tyrant at the head of the government, we are already learning to laugh at the prayers which were only the outcry of our childish fears.

But what if religion means the inward impulse and the upward movement of humanity toward its own perfection? What if it means all wholeness, wholesomeness, and sweet completeness of our being? What if it means open eyes, pure reasonableness, true wisdom, the finest form of mental power, the most exalted freedom of the spirit, the rectitude of the will, and inmost purity of heart? Is not this according to nature? Is it not the harmony and health to which we forever aspire? If religion means the honest endeavor to reach a complete life by the diligent use of all helps, — if it is the passion, the principle, and the power that make for righteousness in the individual and in society, — then, if the men of the future are to be an improvement on the men of to-day, they will not outgrow religion, but will grow more fully into it. They will

grow away from the errors which have obscured it, away from the perversions which have disfigured it, away from the stupidities which have been mistaken for it, away from the corruptions which have dishonored it; but they will grow ever more toward its holy realities, its heavenly excellencies, its precious fellowships.

We are not obliged to choose between a false religion and no religion at all; our choice is rather between the false and the true, or between the lower and the higher, — a difference even greater than that between the candle burning at an altar and the sun shining in the high heaven. If there be indeed a Wise Spirit, working in us and presiding over the Church and the world, we shall surely outgrow much that passes for religion, and much that is now covered all over with Christian labels; but this advance will be along the line of spiritual evolution toward the goal at which Jesus himself points when he bids us "be perfect, like the Father." We are to leave behind the religion of unreality, of sickly sentiment, of self-seeking piety, which suffocates both love of God and love of man; we are to leave behind the religion which builds on disbelief in human nature, which encourages self-mutilation, and darkens the daylight; for every true advance is a result of human forces obediently working with the divine, and we *must* trust and use our faculties for their proper purposes. When man loses respect for his own constitution, his very faith in God is threatened with insanity.

Through all the changes of belief, *something* is constant. What did the Greeks mean by the fable of Proteus, a deity of the sea, perpetually assuming new forms, — now a dolphin, now a quadruped, now a bird, now a wave? The lance could pierce the fish, the club could slay the beast, the net could snare the bird, the wave subsided and

was lost in the sea; but the god escaped unharmed, for ever fresh and young. In every form, though it were of a fly or a reptile, the god really dwelt for the time. Is it not the same with human faith in the Supreme Power? Even in low, creeping superstitions there is a vague stirring of truth and life. Our insect faculties grasp some reality, but ripening reason soon dismisses the form of thought as inadequate, only to see another take its place. Theology undergoes many transformations: science wields its facts to strike down the old theory of creation; criticism pierces our traditions and articles of faith with sharp, fatal shafts of logic; the highway of history is strewn with the wrecks and ruins of dead faiths and worships,—yet the mysterious Presence perpetually appears in human thought. Destroy all the so-called religions, but religion itself refuses to die. Out of doubt itself arises a purified faith; the unbelievers can have no peace till they strike hands in new fellowships, and lay the foundations of new temples. No harm ever comes to the man who lets go a creed which he can no longer retain with honesty; much harm may come from heartless conformity and insincere profession. "Let us not fear that we can lose anything in the progress of the soul."

But not all change is progress; there is evolution downward as well as upward; and men may let go the truth as well as renounce error. Is it clear that all the men who tell us in the name of liberty, nature, and reason that they have left religion behind, are really moving toward clearer light and higher life? An old story may serve as a parable. The ship's captain left a seaman in charge of the helm, telling him to steer toward a particular star. While the seaman took a nap, the ship went clean about, and when he opened his eyes, and searched the sky, he

saw that the star which had been ahead was now astern. Rushing to the captain, he exclaimed, "Give me another star to steer by; we've sailed past that one!" Humanity makes real advances; and there are revolutions, as well as evolutions, which set us forward in the ways of freedom, truth, and virtue; but it is also true that men's heads run round while the stars hold their courses. Even by moving the wrong way, we shall not leave religion behind; we shall only fall back into some of its lower forms, — we shall worship we know not what.

Religion is to be permanent because of the permanent facts and factors of man's nature, and because of the unchanging relations between himself and the universe. His constitution is not self-imposed; he can impair, but he cannot amend it. He must always be a subject of law, since he can never be a legislator. The greatness of our needs, and the limits of our wisdom and power, must leave us forever dependent. The more we know, the more we shall wonder; the less we know the more must we take on trust. Always the unseen will be more than the seen; always the unknown will encompass and interfuse the known; always we must walk by faith more than by sight. The higher we aspire and reach, the further will the ideal recede; the purer and truer we become, the more commanding will be our sense of right, and the more sweet and strong will be the attractions of the true, the beautiful, and the good. As every advance in virtue must draw us into closer union with nature and humanity, so must it make us more deeply aware of the One Law, Life, and Love which generates, nourishes, and enfolds us all, and makes it certain that "all minds are of one family," with one origin and one destiny. Piety itself will seem natural to man, when the fervors and fevers of excited

feeling cool to the steady temperature of health, and when our fluttering, palpitating hearts settle to the rhythmic beat of orderly and rational life.

Outgrow religion? No; faith will become stronger as it is enlightened and reinforced by knowledge, or as we learn more of the wise, safe, friendly Order in which disorder is held as the ocean holds its eddies and ruffles; for that Order will shine around and within us like a revelation. Hope will feed itself on every hint of higher possibilities and vaster resources; love, casting out fear, resting and rejoicing in creation as the Father's house and ours, will yet gird itself to braver tasks, as it grows clear that the processes which outsight calls evolution, but which insight interprets as the ways of the Living God, are but the out-givings of Infinite Benignity, which forever incarnates and sacrifices itself to produce, train, and sustain a world of free, pure, and happy spirits.

Outgrow religion? What is to give tone and cheer and richness and depth to the life of mankind through the coming years and ages? We cannot live by bread alone; can we live alone by intellect? That freezes; an Arctic climate returns; life may glitter, but it will be an iceberg. But will not man's heart keep him warm? for he is a being of sentiment as well as of thought; he will still rejoice in natural affections; nature will feed his sense of beauty; society will feed his craving for fellowship. But if he is to see in nature the display of order and law, and if he is to see in humanity something more than a menagerie, — if he is to recognize merit, moral quality, and ideal excellence, — lo and behold, the door is wide open for the return of faith and worship. If we *could* subside into materialism, how long would pure love kindle its fires, or poetry spread her wings? After we have renounced the

life of the soul, what will remain but a life of the senses? "If we look only downward, our path leads over graves," says Bunsen; "if we look upward, it leads under stars." Over graves it must indeed lead; but if not also under stars, then were man's life —

> "A life of nothings, nothing worth,
> From that first nothing ere his birth
> To that last nothing under earth."

With no sense of deep meaning in existence, no large outlook, no urgent and commanding interest in living, we shall have but a dull prospect before and around us, — a landscape of sand without a sky. And how can the man who thus rates his own being low set a high value on his fellows? Our regard for humanity, our public spirit, and our private friendships, — think how these must decline as we lose faith in the divine possibilities of man and in the assured care of Providence! What shall chain and tame our lower passions after we have really accepted the theory that we are only a superior kind of beasts? Do you answer, Conscience, the inward law of reason, the sense of right and wrong? Ah, yes, then you begin again to provide for religion; for this homage to the moral nature of man, this allegiance to a law above man's will, is the rock on which is built the temple of his faith and hope, his love and worship.

Allow that in man's nature there is permanently active a principle or a power which impels him toward goodness; which reproves his evils, and enforces his discoveries of duty; which leads him toward truth, and braces his will for self-denying virtue, so that it is made possible for him to grow wiser and better every day, and thus to ascend toward perfection, — would there be any objection to his

saying, This is the best thing about me, and it must be my ruler? But in saying this he really vows himself to the religious life.

Always this mighty inward Power holds our being in poise, as the planets are held in their paths through empty space; always, like those shining worlds, we are impelled onward in a course we do not trace by any wisdom of our own; always we live and move, and have our being in the heart of boundless mystery; always in our highest moods we crave to feel that —

> "God's greatness
> Flows around our incompleteness;
> Round our restlessness, His rest."

The doubts and difficulties amid which so many are struggling in our days would be greatly diminished, perhaps they would generally vanish, if we who profess to be spiritual guides of the people could only learn and teach religion in harmony with human nature, human need, and experience. But this will require us to distinguish more carefully between religion and the theories, methods, literatures, customs, and institutions which are its products, — all once its helpers, often now its hindrances, and sometimes curiously mistaken for itself.

It is high time to say frankly, The Bible is not religion; the Church is not religion; neither is any ceremony or sacrament or doctrinal belief. Let these be valued according to their reasonable uses. Let them stand or fall on their merits, as disclosed by experience and by free and fair inquiry. About all these matters there are many open questions, and there will be honest differences. But whatever may be our conclusions or our non-conclusions of such questions, the foundations of faith and of reason need not be disturbed. *Religion is life;* and life, which is

the true seat of God's kingdom, is within. O friend, it is within *you*.

We must cease to disparage and darken the light that lighteth every man. We must appeal with more confidence to the native instincts of the soul. We must recognize and honor the divine in the human.

The advancing race will surely have a religion; but it will not be built of dream-stuff; for man will be mastered by reality. It will not be something external, something which he "gets," and puts on; it will be *life itself*, his own life, the health and completeness of his being, the rational action of his faculties, and wise ordering of his conduct and relations. What more can we need? What less will meet our need? But is not this the essence and outcome of Christianity, if we go to the heart of it?

"Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." We want a religion for common uses, and for home consumption. Pure air and wholesome food will yet be sacramental; cleanliness will be baptismal; an honest day's work will be an acceptable sacrifice; our breath will be prayer, and our play will be innocent; our very flesh will be sweet, healed of the old disorders of the ages. Then churches will be as households, and households as churches; there will be seven holy days in every week. "This is the covenant that I will make with them in those days, saith the Lord: I will put my law in their minds, and write it in their hearts; and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more."

Good-by, then, to confusing and misleading echoes of the Voice which forever speaks! Good-by to the worn-out costumes of dead generations! Good-by to tiresome routine and cumbrous ceremonial! Let us tenderly lay aside the dear old copy-books wherein we have scrawled

and mis-spelled the holy words of faith and salvation. All honor to the monuments and mile-stones which mark the majestic march of God in history; but our faces are to the future. We do not desert the heavenly Leader; we move at His orders, toward new and grander victories.

Poor, rich human heart! say good-by also to folly and sin; to irreverent self-will and silly conceit; to worldliness, animalism, and torpid indifference; to unbrotherly greed and ill-will; to profane uses of the day and night. Learn the truth as it is in Jesus: "that ye put off the old man with his deeds, which are corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and that ye put on the new man, fashioned on the divine pattern, in righteousness and true holiness." Go forth to the life of faith, which is the life of faithfulness, and to the service of man, which is the true service of God.

O Spirit Eternal, for thy gift of life we forsake all else!

THEODORE PARKER. A Biography

By Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham

Size, 5 3-4 x 7 3-4; pages, 588; price, $1.00 *net;* postage, 14 cents.

THE author's single aim has been to present the person of Theodore Parker with all simplicity. Some details which have been given at greater length in Weiss's biography have been omitted, and to this latter the critical student is referred. It has seemed that the biography of Weiss, issued in two large volumes, was too heavy for general circulation, and too expensive for general purchase. The present biographer, in addition to the materials that were placed in the hands of Mr. Weiss, has been intrusted with many private letters and personal reminiscences, which enable him to fill out his picture with delicate touches. "From old sources and new the qualities of the man have been drawn in such a way that the records, literary and historical, may reveal, and not cloak, his form." This method of treatment has resulted in the drawing of a faithful and adequate portrait.

PRAYERS

By Theodore Parker. With a Preface by Louisa M. Alcott, and a Memoir by F. B. Sanborn

Size, 4 3-4 x 7; pages, 218; price, 75 cents *net;* postage, 7 cents.

"IT is in the very spirit of devotion, the gentle or the martial, that these prayers were conceived and uttered. Like so many of his predecessors in the New England pulpit, Theodore Parker was 'mighty in prayer.' It was the natural language of his soul." — *Mr. Sanborn, in his* MEMOIR.

"Parker's prayers were one of the strongest attractions of his church, and did much to win and soften souls, after his unsparing hand had torn away the veil behind which so many hide even from themselves. Like spring rains on newly plowed fields, came mercy after justice. . . . Perhaps the secret of the worth and beauty of these prayers lies in the fact that his life illustrated them so truly that those who knew him felt he had a right to pray." — *Miss Alcott, in the* PREFACE.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

25 Beacon Street, Boston

THE American Unitarian Association is the working missionary organization of the Unitarian churches of America. It seeks to promote sympathy and united action among Liberal Christians, and to spread the principles which are believed by Unitarians to be essential to civil and religious liberty and progress and to the attainments of the spiritual life. To this end it supports missionaries, establishes and maintains churches, holds conventions, aids in building meeting-houses, publishes, sells, and gives away books, sermons, tracts, hymn-books, and devotional works.

Tracts descriptive of Unitarian principles, doctrines, and methods, are sent free to any who desire to know what Liberal Christianity stands for and works for. A list of these free tracts will be sent on application. A full descriptive catalogue of the publications of the Association, including doctrinal, devotional, and practical works, will be sent to all who apply. All religious books by Unitarian authors are kept on sale, and will be sent on receipt of price. A list of such books, with prices, will be furnished upon request.

The Association is supported by the voluntary contributions of churches and individuals. Annual subscriptions of any amount are solicited. Address communications and contributions to the Secretary at his office, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. The following is the simple

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath to the American Unitarian Association, a corporation established by law in the State of Massachusetts, the sum of.....dollars.

FOURTH SERIES.] [No. 85.

THE BIBLE IN THEOLOGY.

BY

REV. WILLIAM W. FENN.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,
BOSTON.

Our Faith.

The Fatherhood of God.
The Brotherhood of Man.
The Leadership of Jesus.
Salvation by Character.
The Progress of Mankind,
onward and upward forever.

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THE BIBLE IN THEOLOGY.

Five years ago I heard Dr. McKenzie, of Cambridge, say that the next great debate in the Christian Church would be upon the nature and measure of Biblical authority. Upon as slender a foundation as even this passing remark rests the fame of many an old-time seer, for to-day the prophecy is manifestly fulfilled, not in a corner, but "before all Israel and the sun," and within the quick memory of those who heard the prediction. The little cloud then descried upon the horizon, — which, by the way, had long been hanging there, — having suddenly gathered into itself all scudding flecks of controversy, now darkens almost the entire blue of theology, and threatens by obscuring the sun to chill religious ardor and starve the fruits of the spirit. Religious disputes are always as regrettable as they are sometimes unavoidable. The army of the Lord cannot even yet altogether dispense with polemics; but future gains will more than make good immediate losses. Crops always suffer when ploughshares are beaten into swords and pruning-hooks into spears, but Joels may still remind us that the triumph of an eternal principle is more than the garnering of a season's harvest; and obviously, no principle is more vital to institutional Christianity on the one side and to spiritual Christianity on the other than that now mooted, for all the differences among sects are finally traceable either to the greater or less weight given the testimony of Scripture or to disagreement as to what

that testimony actually is. If all Protestants were to agree that the Bible carries no unique sanction, but is to be tested as regards the accuracy of its statements and the truth of its ethical and religious teachings by exactly the same canons which are unhesitatingly applied to the Vedas and the Koran, a multitude of petty disputes would close as quickly as legal battles about the meaning of a testament when another will is discovered of proved genuineness and a later date. Darwin's book on the "Origin of Species" put an end to innumerable and apparently interminable scientific quarrels about classification. It matters comparatively little how subjects interpret a royal proclamation so long as they are ready to do the sovereign's will when known; but it 's a bad day for the monarch, and ominous of revolution, when men fall to asking what right he has to be king and issue decrees at all. When Thoreau once heard an auditor ask, "Why does he lecture at all?" he says, "It made me quake in my shoes."

Thus the importance of the question alone might almost justify the bitterness which its discussion engenders, but there is yet a finer palliation. Men have "become Christians" seldom or never because after critically canvassing the evidences, they have come to the conclusion that, on the whole, the credentials of this religion are rather better than those of any other, and hence that it is more worthy of credence, but almost invariably because some simple or heroic Christian life or some heart-stirring Christian word has penetrated their lethargy and compelled their allegiance. We may select our servants critically, but our masters come to us with the words of Jesus on their lips, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you;" and we do them instinctive homage. When Arnold came tearing upon the field to complete the victory of Saratoga by rallying the American troops for an attack upon Burgoyne's line manœuvering for position, no soldier

raised the question whether, in view of his quarrel with Gates, he had any right to issue orders. There was no mention of credentials or commission; enough that he was leading the way that all would go, straight against the enemy, and so they followed, although not a man who then charged with him to victory but would afterward have upheld his title to command, since it is natural to contend earnestly for that to which we have committed ourselves. His right to lead for them was based upon the fact that he was actually leading in the right way. So it would be strange if those (and there are many such) whose moral defeat has been turned into spiritual victory by the inspiration of some thrilling Bible call, or whose despair and grief have been lightened by some tender Bible promise, were not hot against those whom they deem, though mistakenly, gainsayers of the book which has done so much for them. When a belief lies very near a man's heart, is structural in his personality, it is impossible that calling it in question should not evoke personal feeling. If you do not care whether I think as you do or not, it must be either that your thought is not precious and helpful to you or else that you have not sufficient concern for my welfare to care whether I am helped or not.

When, therefore, one who has found the Bible so potent in his own experience, and who, moreover, is intensely desirous that his brothers shall have all possible encouragement and sustenance in spiritual living, finds that his former opinions regarding the book are no longer tenable, it is only natural that he should be cautious and hesitant, reluctant for his own part to abate one whit of his old-time reverence, and fearful lest by misunderstood speech he may turn others from what he knows to be a source of abundant strength. If therefore we grow impatient with the alleged radicals for a

timid reserve verging perilously toward untruthfulness and insincerity, or are disgusted at the acrimony with which those who suppose themselves conservatives egg their opponents and egg on their champions, whose vociferousness is usually commensurate with their ignorance, it is well to bear in mind, by way of mitigation, that while there may be a tincture of unworthy sentiments, the basic feeling in either case is an eager care for the spiritual life, which must always command respect. Nevertheless, while the importance of the Bible in the thought of Christendom and in the lives of individual Christians may well excuse zeal without knowledge on the one side and knowledge without zeal on the other, nothing but the truth can be of permanent aid in the religious life; and the truth or falsehood of current views regarding the Bible is to be determined solely by an appeal to facts and a scholarly weighing of evidence. The Holy Spirit alone does not qualify a man to pronounce upon the age of a geological formation or of an Old Testament book, the authorship of the letters of Junius or of the Fourth Gospel, although without the Holy Spirit manifesting itself in supreme devotion to the truth alone, no inquiry whatsoever can be successfully prosecuted. Mr. Moody is a good and holy man; "so are they all, all honorable men," who addressed his meetings in Northfield last summer; but hardly one of those who spoke so harshly and dogmatically had any more right to pass judgment upon the methods and results of the Higher Criticism than you and I have to ridicule the canal-builders in Mars, if such there be or were. As Dr. Parkhurst said recently, "If the Pentateuch speaks of the coney that chews the cud, and science denies that the coney is a ruminant, the true method is not to denounce those who call attention to the discrepancy as subverters of the Bible, but to pro-

duce a cud-chewing coney." It must be repeated often and firmly that the place of the Bible in theology is to be settled, not by sentiment and the supposed necessities of faith, nor yet by our hankerings after an infallible authority and vague guesses as to where we shall be without it, but solely by strict investigation into the needs of theology and the contents of the Bible.

The toughest problem with which any one can close, and with which, in one form or another, nearly every man tries a fall sooner or later, concerns the relation between our ideas and external realities, between the thing as it appears to us and the thing as it is in itself. Having concluded that our ideas of material objects must be adequately representative, since otherwise we should have been worsted in the great struggle where everything depends upon accurate perceptions, we ask next after our aspirations and ideals. Has Nature, like a cunning sharper, let us win these lighter games only to trick us when our highest interests are at stake? Are our ideals merely ours, — our fairest yet most evanescent possessions having no correspondents in the world without, — or are they valid and trustworthy because prophetic products of Nature, who is revealing now in brain-matter what she will some time make manifest in all matter? If we take not the blind alley of materialism, but the high-road of religion, opening unhorizoned vistas, and affirm that as there is in ourselves a system of ideals which we call the soul, so there is also in the universe a system of ideals of which ours is a product and competent transcript, which we call the soul of the world, or God, it devolves upon theology to bring our ideals into more perfect conformity with the universe ideals, and also to show in each fact and event the presence and working of the divine Unity. Religion, which is a firm belief in the spiritual nature of the uni-

verse, may exist with a very imperfect theology, perhaps even with no theology at all; but it grows in purity and power only as the craving for unity, which is the soul's thirst for God apparent in thought, makes theology necessary and leads it in the way of perfection. As a science, theology must make the facts with which it deals transparent to thought. As a science of religion, and therefore having to do with all facts, it must make the whole world transparent to ideals. As a progressive science of religion, it develops as our ideals become truer and our knowledge larger and more precise. The demand for unity finds its fulfilment only in a perfect intellectual system of the universe, revealing a perfect system of ideals; that is, in a perfect theology.

Although it would be admitted almost universally that we have not yet a perfect theology, the vast majority of Christians believe that the thought of the Hebrew people received such especial divine illumination as to constitute it a revelation, and its transmission such especial divine oversight that in the Christian inheritance we have the materials for a perfect theology. Disregarding for the moment, as not germane to the present discussion, the claims of the historic churches to be the bearers and developers of the assumed revelation, let us consider the fundamental tenet of Protestantism, — that the Bible is the sole authoritative source of theology. There is undoubtedly a Biblical theology, precisely as there is a theology of the Greek poets; but the claim of Protestantism has been that Biblical theology is identical with theology absolute. Although it could never be affirmed that a compact system of theology is to be found in the Bible, — since it is manifestly a forest and not a lumber yard, still less a finished temple, — yet the time was when it was believed to contain all the facts necessary for a perfect intellectua

system of the universe, and all the ideals necessary for a perfect system of ideals, so that the theologian was only a systematizer and framer of the facts and principles of the Bible. Dr. Hodge, for instance, defines theology as the science that has to do with the facts and principles of the Bible. After repeating once to a very pious woman a statement in a sermon which struck my boyish fancy, to the effect that the pagan, or heathen, was literally one who dwelt in the country, and did not readily hear the Christian doctrine first proclaimed in great cities, I remember well the stern tone in which she asked me, "Did he find that in his Bible?" And it was only a decade ago that a young man intending to enter the Christian ministry declared to me his intention of studying only the Greek and Hebrew languages, that he might perfectly understand the Bible, which contained all that was necessary for a Christian preacher or theologian. Yet such views of the Bible, common enough once, are fast weathering away, not merely by the action of Biblical criticism, scientific study, and comparative religion, but mainly by the growing sense of unity which re-enforces each and is re-enforced in turn. When the feeling for unity questioned the idea that all the truth of God had been intrusted to a single nation arbitrarily selected, and that its thought upon all subjects, preserved for us in its literature had been kept free from error of every sort, Biblical criticism arose to show that the Bible was not infallible, and that the thought of Israel had developed in accordance with universal laws; and comparative religion made it evident that other nations besides Israel had been divinely taught. When science had vindicated beyond cavil the competence of the human mind to discern the truth in Nature, the demand for unity, reaffirming the doctrine of the one God, declared for the trust-

worthiness of reason in religion as well as in Nature, and — denying the possibility of permanent contradiction between the two revelations, in Nature and in the Bible — gave the book of Nature the decisive voice, as bearing better guarantees than the alleged book of immediate revelation.

Inasmuch, therefore, as the craving for unity has been constantly enlarging the needs of theology, and as steadily modifying traditional conceptions of revelation in general, and the contents of the Bible in particular, it is not strange that as Unitarians — laying, as has been brightly and truthfully said, more stress upon the Unit than upon the Arians — we have been foremost in receiving and presenting the real new theology, which, finding nowhere as yet a perfect system either of facts or of ideals, recognizes no single source or infallible authority for theology, but resting solely upon the perfecting human spirit as it grows into the divine likeness, pushes hopefully and trustfully on toward the perfect thought of God. Our attitude is precisely described by the much misused yet highly honorable name of "Liberals," which has been called upon us; for the Liberal in theology is he who admits no bonds or limitations to thought save those which inhere in the constitution of the mind itself. No matter what a man's opinions may be, if he stops short of conclusions at the behest of any external authority, or if in defending them he makes final appeal, not to his innermost sense of duty and rationality, — which he assumes to be concordant with that of others when untampered with, as his physical senses are with theirs, — but to some outlying declaration or rule, he is not a Liberal. For one Protestant who contends that in the building of the Lord's house no lumber may be used unless it grew in Palestine, and that every scrap of that growth is too sacred

not to be worked up somehow into the holy edifice, there are thousands who allow that wood may be brought from Philistia or elsewhere, and that even the trees of Israel may be trimmed and hewn a little without harm, but who urge, nevertheless, that every stick of the Biblical growth must be utilized, because it bears a heavenly stamp and hence may be relied upon not to give, warp, or decay; but the "Liberal," while recognizing the intrinsic superiority of the timber in this particular grove, gives it no immunity from closest scrutiny, rejects whatever seems to him unsound, and levies his contributions upon the forests of the world. The Bible does not supply all the materials for a perfect system of theology, since its facts are insufficient and frequently inaccurate, and its ideals are not always sound. Neither is it an infallible or even a final authority in theology, since the denial of what Professor Thayer calls "the pestilent theory that the Bible is absolutely free from error of every sort" — a theory which still obtains only among the uninformed — carries with it the implication that the Bible stands upon precisely the same footing as other books, and is subject to the same tests of trustworthiness and value. Of what use, then, is the Bible in theology, if it is not a perfect source or a final authority?

To say that the Bible is on the same footing as other books by no means implies that they are its equals. All men are on the same footing, for all tread the same earth; but there are giants and dwarfs, Emersons and "dagos." All stars bespangle the same sky, but "one star differeth from another star in glory." The Hebrews were master sons of the Spirit, and their testimony is that of experts in religion. Hence one chief use of the Bible in theology is to afford us the corroboration of the Spirit. My own opinion gains

wonderfully, quotes Carlyle frequently, "when I hear it from another's lips," — the more if that other is an acknowledged leader in the science whereof he speaks. Hence it is that, with no lingering superstition or timid subservience, our tone gets firmer and more confident when our thoughts answer to the thoughts of the Hebrew prophets, particularly of Jesus, their unmistakable chief; and our fitful glimpses of truth are found to coincide with their steady vision. Moreover, the testimony of experts always has a presumption in its favor which does not attach to ordinary sources of information. When Professor Ezra Abbot, the Coryphæus of New Testament students in this country, made a statement concerning a manuscript or a reading, it was received with much greater deference than if emanating from some unknown writer in a religious journal, though it was by no means regarded as infallible or beyond revision. To say that we must approach the Bible precisely as we approach all other books is to say that we must come to a painting of Rembrandt and to the work of an unknown artist with the same mental posture. From what we know of the nature and history of the Bible, we are prepared to find its thought high and spiritual, ready to "consider it again" and think a little harder and longer over what at first seem to us blemishes and defects, yet never relinquishing our prerogatives of cross-questioning, of weighing, and, if need be, of positive and final disagreement. No word of Scripture is to be received without question, neither is any to be rejected without reason. To those holding the extreme Orthodox position, the Bible is a theological constitution which may never be amended, with which all opinions must square, and to which all judgments must conform. To the "Liberal Orthodox" it is a volume of leading cases which embrace all legal principles and all of

whose recorded rulings are final; but to us it is simply a volume of reports chronicling the decisions of eminent judges, whose opinions may be set aside by riper consideration, though they are presumably sound, and at any rate are not to be lightly rejected.

This idea of the corroboration of the Spirit gives what little color there is to the pretensions of the historic churches to be the seat of authority in religion. For, if we believe that the Semitic peoples, particularly the Hebrews, were the peculiar bearers of religion, as the Romans were of law, and if we use the word "Church" in its most comprehensive and least formal sense, as identical with that religious consciousness which is in the line of historic succession from Moses, Isaiah, and Jesus, we can hardly doubt that in the Church, as its most likely sphere, a perfect theology will slowly be evolved. Not that a doctrine once formally considered and approved by a formal conclave of the formal Church is therefore authoritatively settled for all time; evolution does not proceed thus mechanically and fragmentarily. The perfection of an organism is not attained by perfecting one by one its various members; the parts find and keep their perfection in the perfecting whole. The sun does not come up by piecemeal, here a bit and there a bit, with long intervals of time between the successive appearances, but as a whole; and the streaks of light are not the sun or portions of it, but only the hinting foregleams. When, however, we find that an idea is the lineal descendant, or ascendant, from a thought that was formative in the Hebrew consciousness and in Church history, we may rely with considerable confidence upon the authority of the Church, the "*testimonium sancti spiritus*," as evidence, not that we have attained to ultimate truth, but that we are in the right road, — that we are in the ways of the Spirit.

Besides the corroboration of the spirit, the Bible is of use in theology, as a source of facts and principles. Obviously, the laws of religious development must be of immense importance in the study of theology, but these laws can be found only in the facts of religious growth: and where can we more hopefully look for the necessary facts than in the records of a nation whose history more than that of any other nation of the world is the history of a religious evolution? Much has been made of the uncertainty hanging over the facts of the Bible, particularly of the life of Jesus; but the uncertainty arises in good measure from the unwillingness to subject records which are held so sacred to the strict application of ordinary critical processes. There has doubtless been perversion and distortion of the facts; but, knowing the medium through which they have come, it is not so very difficult for us to compute the angle of refraction and plot the course of the ray before it entered the prism of superstition and vulgar prejudice. However much of myth and legend may have gathered about the primitive germ, the magnet will not attract wood, and the character of the accretion reveals the quality of the core. Moreover, what must be rejected as historic fact is often of paramount importance as evidence of a national sentiment. "Remember," said Ruskin, "that a lovely legend is all the more precious when it has no foundation. Cincinnatus might actually have been found ploughing beside the Tiber fifty times over, and it might have signified little to any one, least of all to you and me. But if Cincinnatus never was so found, nor ever existed at all in flesh or blood, but the great Roman nation, in its strength of conviction that manual labor in tilling the ground was good and honorable, invented a quite bodiless Cincinnatus and set him according to its fancy in furrows of the field, and put its own words into his mouth, and gave the honor of

its ancient deeds into his ghostly hand, — this fable which has no foundation, this precious coinage of the brain and conscience of a mighty people, you and I — believe me — had better read and know and take to heart diligently." Hence, although it is incredible that the Commandments were graven on stone by the finger of the Lord, it does not at all follow that they are only "ten crotchets of Moses," but rather that they embody the deepest and most ethical thought of the people. If many of the Old Testament and New Testament stories are not true to fact, they are true to principles which governed both in conduct and in literature. More important than the historical accuracy or inaccuracy of these stories is the fact that they were actually held to be true by a nation born for religion, and are the vehicle of its ideals, which, whether conveyed in narrative or didactic form, are almost always lofty and fit for theology.

Besides the two uses of the Bible in theology already mentioned, the corroboration of the spirit and the communication of facts and principles, it has yet a third: it creates the right climate for theology. Behind all the particular ideals of the Hebrews lay this great formative principle: God is holy, and will have his people holy. Because of this, their thought is marked by realism. "The Hebrew people," says Professor Briggs, "were as realistic as the Greeks were idealistic." In all their uplifts of heart and brain, their feet are fast on mother earth. They are not blind to solid facts; but they see them as solid, in their cubicalness with God as the third dimension. Because of this, too, their religious thought is ethical. It is easy to point out isolated instances of false ethical feeling, notably in the book of Esther, and of undue stress upon ceremonialism, as in the Levitical legislation; but is it not true that in the Hebrew literature, as a whole, we find religion sanctified by right ethical feeling and ethics

ablaze with religious fervor? Moreover, the God of Israel always stood for the best ethical thought of the people. Never among them, as so frequently elsewhere, was the God of popular theology baser than the man of popular approval. And, because this creative idea so permeates the Bible, the more fully we are imbued with its spirit, the less likely we shall be to vaporize and temporize in religious thinking, and the more emphasis we shall lay upon morality in religion and ethics in theology. Thus the climate of the book is favorable for the growth of pure ideals and for the maturing of a true theology. The book brings us into the same spirit whereof Isaiah and Jesus and Paul were partakers, and lifts us far above sordid materialism and belittling selfishness. Only in this zone can theology thrive. A man with no sense of beauty may construct a system of æsthetics, one who never laughed may produce a philosophy of the comic, but one who has never been thrilled by an ideal, who in hours of gloom has never heard —

> "the sound of silver wings
> Slow beating through the hush of night,"

and who in moments of trial has never seen —

> "how life's rugged mountain side
> Is white with many an angel tent,"

has no power to bring theology to birth. What makes religion possible and theology necessary but the fact that our ideals come to us clothed with more than mortal majesty and born unmistakably "not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God"? And as no science of beauty is satisfactory which does not make those who master it more keenly alive to beauty, and no ethical system can be valid which does not strengthen the moral sense, so no system of theology can

be true which does not grow best in the climate of ideals and further their growth. A body of divinity without an inspiring soul is worthless, and will become an offence. Hence any book which feeds and freshens the religious life is of immense value to the student of theology. Beyond the corroboration of the spirit and the communication of facts and principles is this service to theology of the Bible as a book of the Spirit.

I am aware that to many outside of our fellowship, perhaps to some within it, this view of the Bible may seem painfully inadequate and possibly lowering to the book. To me it does not seem so, for as I cannot conceive of a higher tribute than that paid to Emerson by Matthew Arnold in calling him the friend and helper of those who would live in the Spirit, although to some of Emerson's friends even this seemed mean and insufficient, so I can imagine no greater encomium upon a book than to say of it truthfully that it finds us, and we find it, in our noblest moods, — so that it becomes a real *vade mecum* in the ways of the Spirit. But there are those who, as they say, "want something to tie to," and complain bitterly because, as they think, modern students of the Bible are hacking down the hitching-post of infallibility which God himself set up. But it is no longer a matter of choice, save with those who "glory in believing instead of taking the trouble to ascertain," whether or not the Bible is of infallible, unquestionable authority; it is a question of knowledge and conscience. It would undoubtedly be very convenient, and save us a deal of thought and care, to have an infallible guide whose dicta on religion and ethics could be accepted without question and acted on without doubt; but we have not been exempted from the discipline of questioning, and the simple fact is that there is no such infallible authority in church, book, or human spirit. God has chosen, not that we should tie to anything, but that

we should be ever on the move toward himself; and only in the current of righteousness setting steadily heavenward are security and certainty. We might wish it were otherwise, but the wish can be father to the thought only when wedded to ignorance. Desires and prejudices one side, the fact is that we have in the Bible a human book, but a book in which humanity is at its best estate, — the surviving literature of a nation that had an exceptional aptitude for religion and a wonderful eye for truth. This is the fact, and it will be found better in the long run "to learn to keep house with facts" than to bar them out with our prejudices and maroon with ignorant desires.

Although intelligent Protestantism has parted company with the idea of an infallible Bible, with which Roman Catholicism never consorted, a few habits formed in its companionship still linger to vex us all. We ought to recognize and frankly aver that our theology does not rest upon the Bible, but upon the human spirit, of which the Bible is but one noble expression, and that, while we welcome it as a substantial prop, we are not dependent upon it for support. Were it possible to prove that the New Testament teaches the doctrines of the Trinity, the vicarious atonement, and the endlessness of future punishment exactly as they are believed in popular Orthodoxy, with the same certainty that it teaches the second personal advent of Jesus, we should be compelled to modify our appreciation of the book; and if it were shown that Jesus so believed and taught, of Jesus himself; but it is impossible that one who has attained the true view of the Bible should in the least waver in his denial of these dogmas. This is only an explicit statement of common Orthodox practice; for the Bibles of the holy ones of earth are not equally thumbed and dog's-eared in all parts, and the expounders of Liberal Orthodoxy take refuge under the

convenient blind of spiritual interpretation, theories of accommodation, and the like, that they may evade the obligation of trying to believe what appears to them clearly false, and at the same time claim the infallible authority of holy Scripture, more for popular effect than for their own convincing, for such doctrine as they approve.

With regard to the Bible, the mind of Protestantism will continue to hang in the wind until sails are courageously trimmed to the breeze that freshens our way. And that, let us remember, is the course charted by early Protestantism. Luther made the authority of a book hinge upon whether it preached Christ or not. Calvin said; "As to this inquiry, whence shall we be persuaded that Scripture hath flowed from God unless we have recourse to the decrees of the Church? This is as if one should inquire, Whence do we learn to distinguish light from darkness, white from black, sweet from bitter? For Scripture lets us have a no more obscure perception of its own truth than black and white things of their color, sweet and bitter of their taste." And the French Confession of 1559, which in this respect fairly represents the early creeds, boldly declares: "We know these books to be canonical, and the sure rule of our faith, not so much by the common accord and consent of the Church as by the testimony and inward illumination of the Holy Spirit, which enables us to distinguish them from other ecclesiastical books upon which, however useful, we cannot found any article of faith." In applying to the contents of the several books the same tests which are here used to discriminate inspired from apocryphal books, Unitarianism is only carrying the principle of unpolluted Protestantism to its logical issue. The tragedy of "King Lear" has been enacted with the human spirit, and its two chil-

dren, the Bible and the Church, as *dramatis personæ;* only the king never really signed away his power, and is now coming to his own again.

With deepest gratitude, therefore, for the truth which the Bible brings us and for its help in the spiritual life, it must, nevertheless, be affirmed that an inspired man of to-day is more fully in the secret of the Eternal than were the inspired men of twenty centuries ago. It would be passing strange if after twenty centuries in the heart of man the Holy Spirit had not brought humanity to a more perfect knowledge of eternal things. It is perilously near the sin against the Holy Spirit not to prefer the God of Channing and Parker and Emerson to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and one is never quite so sure of this as when brooding over the book not one of whose authors bases his thought upon the words of his predecessor, but all of whom begin by saying, "The word of the Lord came unto me," and so claim for themselves present inspiration and a brighter revelation of the Almighty. And yet it does not follow, as might hastily be supposed, that therefore modern books can fully take the place of the Bible in the spiritual life; for as the sketches of a great artist, especially if arranged in chronological order with the finished picture at their head, are more valuable to a learner than the masterpiece alone, and as to workers in literature Hawthorne's "Ancestral Footstep," "Dr. Grimshaw's Secret," "Septimius Felton," and "The Dolliver Romance" (studies for the Romance of Immortality) are more helpful in their incompleteness than even "The Marble Faun" or "The Scarlet Letter," because they let us into the workshop of the author and reveal his methods, so the early strivings of the Spirit chronicled in the sacred books of the Hebrews are even more serviceable to those who would live and work in the

same spirit than the more perfect utterances through later prophets.

A second survival of the discarded theory of the Bible is in the methods by which the book is studied. I am told that there is in Boston a writing-master who boasts of being the only teacher in the town that makes a small *a* exactly right. All the rest, he says proudly, carry the shading a little too far down. It is possible that he might be a valuable instructor for a man with nothing to do but "write him down an ass" (with a small *a*) all day long; but men with work to do cannot waste time on such tomfoolery. Yet the textual criticism and the philology of the New Testament proceed upon the assumption of verbal inspiration, and are simply ridiculous apart from it. In the "Metaphors of Saint Paul," for instance, Howson says, "In examining the different parts of the New Testament, I should wish to be guided by the reverent belief that each word has a meaning; that each word is the best that could be used." But, taking the human view of the Bible, with what show of reason can we conclude that its authors were always so precise in their language as to choose the very best word? Mr. Ruskin, indeed, speaks of spending an entire forenoon over a single sentence, and states that for twenty years he has not written a word without testing it syllable by syllable; but which of us can say as much, or would submit his sermons to the scrutiny which Ruskin gives his selected lines from "Lycidas"? And are we to suppose that Amos at Bethel paused in his denunciation of woe to choose the one word in the Hebrew language, with all its extraordinary wealth of synonymes, which exactly expressed his idea; or that Jesus called the Pharisees "whited sepulchres" only when, after long and painful deliberation, he had determined that that phrase, with its associations and impli-

cations, was precisely the one which fitted his indignant scorn; or that Paul stopped the headlong rush of his argument to mouse in a Thesaurus or a dictionary of synonymes? Such niceness as this notion presupposes is entirely out of keeping with what we know of Biblical authors, and to assume it is sure to lead us astray. Moreover, to interpret Peter and Paul and James by the meanings which the words they use bear in the writings of Homer, Demosthenes, and Plato, is as if a foreigner should seek to understand James Whitcomb Riley or Uncle Remus, knowing only Chaucer and Shakspeare and Milton.

It is high time for lovers of the Bible to protest against the methods and aims of present Biblical study, not only because they are foolish and misleading, but also because many a student of theology, disgusted by this punctilious time-wasting exercise, is turned away from the book, and so loses the help which he might receive for himself and for others from this blessed pool of the Spirit. The words of the Bible are of far less importance than its thoughts, and its thoughts are indefinitely less important than the spirit that prompted them. Hence words and thoughts are comparatively useless unless they bring us to the living spirit.

It is timely to insist thus upon the right method of using the Bible, because we are clearly in the midst of a great revival of interest in its study. Not only are the Semitic languages taking their rightful place in schemes of liberal education, but the literary study of the Bible in schools and colleges, the International Sunday-school Lessons, the Correspondence Schools, etc., are directing the minds of English-speaking Protestants toward the Bible as perhaps never before. But the value of such study — yes, even the wholesomeness of it — depends

largely upon methods and aims. It was when essentially the same methods now in vogue prevailed in Israel that religion was at its lowest, and professional exegetes slew the prophet of the soul. But, as we are far enough away from the Roman Catholic Church to appreciate discriminately its real worth, to love its solemn music and stately ceremonies, to join in its prayers for the dead, and to delight in its rich symbolism, so we are far enough away from the letter of the Bible, though near enough in its spirit, to urge its value in the spiritual life and in theology without being embarrassed by its few immoralities and absurdities which oftentimes prove so distracting to others.

I wish that we, as Unitarians, might rise to our opportunity, to our duty, and help direct this awakened interest in the Bible into better channels than those which it now seeks. If, as is sometimes flippantly said, the Bible is "a fossil," it must be remembered that the study of fossils is shedding light upon the history and destiny of man. If it is a "back number," the story of Humanity is a serial, and only by reading the earlier chapters can the current issue be understood and the outcome forecasted. If it is a "dead letter," be sure that within it is the living spirit.

The time is coming — may we hasten it! — when this dear book shall take its rightful place as a manual of devotion instead of a text-book in theology, as a friend of the spirit instead of a despot over the intellect, helping us to open our ears to the present messages of the eternal Spirit, and our eyes to the unending parable of Nature, and more than all, putting and keeping us all in that great current of revelation issuing from Mount Zion which is steadily growing nearer to the perfect knowledge and fellowship of God.

Fresh study of the Bible, as in the time of Wycliffe, Tyndale, and the Authorized Version, has always been followed historically by great social and religious movements which have blessed the world. May we not hope, therefore, that this revival of Biblical study, due in part to the Revised Version of 1881, "may be so guided and governed by His good spirit" as to break forever the shackles of traditionalism, and reinstate the Bible as "the great friend and helper of all who would live in the Spirit"?

FOURTH SERIES.] [No. 86.

THE PERFECT LAW OF THE LORD.

BY

REV. WILLIAM H. LYON, D.D.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,

BOSTON

Our Faith.

The Fatherhood of God.
The Brotherhood of Man.
The Leadership of Jesus.
Salvation by Character.
The Progress of Mankind,
onward and upward forever.

Typical Covenant of a Unitarian Church.

In the love of the truth, and the spirit of Jesus Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man.

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(*As expressed in the By-Laws of the American Unitarian Association*).

"The object of the American Unitarian Association shall be to diffuse the knowledge and promote the interests of pure Christianity; and all Unitarian Christians shall be invited to unite and co-operate with it for that purpose."

(*As expressed by the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1894.*)

"These Churches accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man.

"The Conference recognizes the fact that its constituency is Congregational in tradition and polity. Therefore, it declares that nothing in this Constitution is to be construed as an authoritative test; and we cordially invite to our working fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our spirit and our practical aims."

THE

PERFECT LAW OF THE LORD.

"The law of the LORD is perfect." — Ps. xix. 7.

WHEN the intellectual history of this age shall be written, and the thinker of the future shall sum up its characteristics in a word, that word will be *law*. The real world about us, the age has discovered, is not phenomena but forces; and these forces act not capriciously, but by fixed principles. The world of nature is built up, not like a pile of stones, by the addition of one independent phenomenon after another, but as a plant grows; each new fact springing from the one before it, and formed by a central force, which runs through each succeeding event as the sap of the plant runs through root and stalk and stem and bud.

But there is one application of this idea of law which we fail to make, and yet it is the one we most need to make, namely, to our moral life. In spite of our belief in the reign of law in nature, we fail to appreciate its reign in the nobler and higher realm of the inward life. The point which I wish to make clear is, that there are moral laws as well as natural laws; that the forces which work to make us what we are at any time are as unchangeable, as subject to the fixed succession of cause and effect, as the force of gravitation or electricity.

No doubt the reason why we do not detect the moral laws, is that we are accustomed to think of the moral life as immediately formed by the will. It is the one spot in the world where there is no orderly succession of events, but simply what the man chooses to do or to be at the time. It is sort of a District of Columbia, where the central power is supreme. When a man commits a crime, we lay it all to the choice of the moment. We do not think of it as having sprung from an accumulation of force in his heart, as a flash of lightning bursts out of an accumulation of electricity in the atmosphere. When a young man looks ahead into life, and sees temptations waiting for him, he says to himself: "All I have to do when I get to that temptation is to resolve not to yield to it, and the victory is won in a moment." It does not occur to him that there are moral forces behind his will which practically may prove too strong for it.

I say *practically*, because I mean that while it may be almost always *possible* for a man to resist a temptation or do a good deed (though even here we are in the world of mystery), yet, as a matter of fact, it is the condition of a man's character at the time which determines whether he *will* resist, whether he will do, or not. For a man's will works upon his life as it works upon the outward world, not directly, but through forces which he controls. When he wishes to swim against a stream, he does not merely stretch out his arms, and will to go ahead. He has to summon up his muscular strength. If he has enough, he goes up stream as his will dictates; but if he has been ill, or for any other reason has been losing his muscular power, he may will as much as he chooses, but the relentless stream forces him back, and if there are rapids or falls behind him, over he goes. So a man resists the temptation, we will say to lie, not merely by willing, but by laying

hold of the power of truthfulness which he already has, bracing himself against the conscientiousness which is already deposited in him. If he has weakened his moral powers by the practice of lying, I will not say that he cannot resist the temptation, but the chances are that he will not resist it. The stream of contrary desire, grown strong by long indulgence, will sweep him over the precipice of the lie almost before he knows it.

So, whatever be the metaphysics of the will, the practical fact is that wrong doing grows out of moral weakness, and right doing grows out of moral strength; and the practical problem of the moral life is to increase the stock of moral force.

But the moment we try to do this, we find that the character grows by law as strictly as the tree grows. Just as you cannot create a tree in a day, so you cannot create a strong and healthy character by an act of will or a few moments of moral effort. It is a growth, and the result of laws which work as accurately and as unchangingly as the plainest law of the outward world.

Take a single example of these laws, the law of exercise.

The law of exercise is the same in the moral life as in the physical; the power which is used grows in exact proportion to its use, and the power which is unused decreases in exact proportion to its neglect. The blacksmith's arm does not gain strength more surely and regularly by every stroke on his anvil, than his moral nature gains strength by every blow against temptation or for a good purpose. And just as surely as the blacksmith's arm is weakened by every day's neglect of work, so surely is his moral will weakened by every neglect of duty. We see this illustrated every day in practical life. What is a spoiled child but one who has had everything done for

him, or who has never been forced to exert his power of self-control, until, like the blacksmith who has had his work done for him, he has no strength of will, and cannot concentrate his mind or his moral powers upon anything worth doing? Or, here is a moral Rip Van Winkle, who has let his better nature sleep for a long time while he has thrown himself into all sorts of dissipation. At last he comes to himself. "This won't do. I must change my way of living. It is high time for me to be up and making something out of my life." But what does it mean, this stiffness of the joints, this weakness of the whole system, this almost unconquerable desire to lie down again, this feeble ambition for anything good or useful? The want of exercise has weakened whatever power was neglected. If the will is ever to be again the fresh and strong force it was, it will not be by a mere desire to do this or that, but by a persistent and careful strengthening of the power of self-control, such as a convalescent must give to his legs and arms. He must put up with a great many falls and failures. He must have patience, and a strong faith in the perfect law of God in the soul as well as in the corn-field. And what a man needs, who is not simply trying to bring himself up to the level of a former virtue, but to climb higher than he ever was before, to some ideal height, is not to wait for fortunate circumstances or influences, but to remember the simple law of exercise. When a thoughtful man looks on at any of those acrobatic feats which are so astonishing sometimes, he realizes that months and years of patient practice have gone into every one of them. There is almost no achievement of mankind that has not come by long and patient drilling. That easy run of the pianist, so light and graceful, apparently as natural and unconstrained as the patter of the rain on the roof, — do not let it deceive

you, — it is the delicate distillation of years of patient drudgery. What a wonderful genius Liszt is! How that polonaise of his soars as light and free as a lark! But under his genius were laid from twelve to fourteen hours a day of hard practice for years, says his biographer. A lady said to one of the English poets of the last century: "What a beautiful line that is! I envy you the power to make so much beauty with so little effort." "Madam," said the poet, "it was four years before I was willing to let that line go, and I am not satisfied with it yet." It is easy to heap up such illustrations of the power of patient exercise in the physical and the mental spheres. But we miss their deepest lesson if we do not see that the same law which works there, works in the making of character. The strong will grows out of the past as well as the strong arm. The delicate sense of right and wrong comes by long exercise, as well as the flexible fingers of a Rubinstein: and the music of a well-ordered and sweetly harmonized life is the product of years of patient practice in the arts of self-control and self-sacrifice.

There is no need of enumerating all the laws by which character grows. The essential thing is to see that it is a growth and not a sudden creation. We have cast the idea of miracle out of our physical life. We know that there is no such thing as an event in nature which has no connection with anything before or about it. We need to narrow our expectation of miracle in the moral life; for while we cannot help believing that the will has the power of stepping in and changing our moral tendencies to some extent, yet it is very certain that we have supposed it to have more power than it really has. It really governs only a small part of the character. We might compare it to the soft tip by which the root of a tree grows. That tip is very sensitive to all influences of heat or cold, dry-

ness or moisture, and to any resistance. It grows or stops growing, goes straight on or curves around a stone, according to the necessities of the time, with a power that seems wonderfully like intelligence. But when once it has advanced, the root behind it begins to harden and become encased with bark, and is no longer sensitive or movable. What the root finally is in shape and in direction, is the result of what that free little tip has done for it day by day. We may change the direction of the tip, but not easily that of the root it has once made.

The character of any man at a given time is like that root. It is the result of a long process of growth. To a very large extent it is hard and unchangeable by any sudden influence. It is free to move only at a small point. Even that point starts from where yesterday's growth ended, and its freedom to move is limited to a narrow range. That is to say, when I stand facing a temptation, it is not as if I had never faced one before, nor as if my ancestors had not done it for me before I was born. My feeling toward it, and my resolve to deal with it, start from the point where my own past life has left me; and my freedom to deal with it is limited by my attachment behind to old habits and to my entire nature. I am not *entirely* governed by them. I do have this free and sensitive tip to my character, but I cannot ignore the past nor the limitations which it has imposed upon me. The law of the Lord is perfect. Whatever I have sowed in my soul has grown, though I have forgotten I ever did it. I have forgotten that I yielded to this temptation yesterday. But God has not forgotten; and when I face that temptation to-day, it is harder to deal with than it was. I have forgotten that I had that tough wrestle with an old fault yesterday. But when I face it again to-day, it is not quite as strong as it was. In neither case is it or can

it be as if I had not lived yesterday. My character has grown on one side or the other by a law, which is unerring and unsleeping.

There is this one very wide difference between our will and the tip of the root, that we can change the character which the past growth has made for us. We can, by extraordinary effort, sometimes straighten our crookednesses and strengthen our weaknesses. But still the principle remains that it must be done by the laws of character, and not by any independent and sudden exercise of will. It is true that we hear of sudden conversions and great life-crises which make deep changes in men's characters. But they are like explosions of gunpowder. There are other conditions to be considered besides the spark or the present stimulus. The spark would not have exploded a pile of black sand, nor would the eloquence of Wesley or the presence of death have softened the heart of a man in a different moral condition. The fact that several people can listen to the same pleading or pass through the same crisis with such different results upon their character proves that no man is free from his past acts or influences. What he has been must always determine to a very large extent what he will be. And even in the case of genuine sudden conversions, the result is not to wipe out old scores of sin, but to give new strength to the good in the battle.

Who does not know, whether in those deep conversions which shake the whole life, or in those more common enthusiasms for goodness which sometimes stir in us all, that the old nature still remains, with its habits and its biases and its spots, and that when the first flush of ecstasy has passed, the real battle has yet to be fought? After conversion, said the old theology, must come sanctification, the gradual and persistent rooting out of the sin which the past has fixed in us. That is why so few con-

versions last, — not because they are not real at the beginning, but because the character has not stamina enough to endure so long a struggle, or because the convert is disappointed to find that the law of the Lord is perfect, and that he must reap what he has already sown before he can plant the new crop.

The conclusion of the whole matter is this: Let no man fondly imagine that he can indulge himself in a wrong course of life as long as he chooses, and then check himself suddenly when there is real danger ahead. Every hour of indulgence weakens the will and strengthens the chains that hold it down. Every day of floating in the current brings him to where it is stronger, and increases the momentum in which he rushes toward the rapids of a very serious crisis in his life, if not to the falls of a sure ruin. There is no future time at which he will be as free as he is to-day. He will be sweeping either toward the right or toward the wrong with a force which grows with every hour. There are influences which come in unforeseen, and which sometimes stir a man to do more than he would of himself; just as people who live a careless and shiftless life are sometimes saved from a beggared old age by the timely will of a rich relative. But if it is folly to let one's pecuniary prosperity depend upon such outward chances, it is doubly foolish to leave one's character to the mercy of unforeseen influences, for even if they come we may not be able to take advantage of them. The providence which really interferes to save us in moral crises is the momentum of our past character.

> "Our acts our angels are, or good or ill,
> Our fatal shadows that walk by us still."

Let us take a step farther. There is no reason to think that the law of God by which the past of a human life is

the starting point of its future, stops working at death. Unless we deny any existence at all hereafter, I do not see how we can help feeling that the momentum which life here has given to a man may continue to sweep him on towards his proper end in the life hereafter.

We are fond of saying that a death-bed repentance cannot save a man, because a moment cannot undo the work of a lifetime. But carry that idea further. Suppose that a man who has given himself up to the current of his evil passions, and allowed himself to be whirled along faster and faster by it, at last disappears from sight still rushing on with that fearful momentum. What then? I should not dare to say that there are no new influences which may work against the bad in him and stay his terrible course. I should not dare to set limits to the Divine resources, nor say what could or could not be done for him. But when I see how perfect the law of God is in this life, how as a man grows old in wickedness his character hardens and "sets" like a plaster image, nay, how the evil tendencies of his younger days come out from their hiding places in a more repulsive form than ever, and when I see this stiffening process still going on in him as he passes out of sight into the great unknown, I cannot smile with that optimistic confidence which some easy-going people seem to have, and say that I am *sure* it will be all right with him. At the very least, the way of return will not be short nor easy, and for all I *know*, or anybody else knows, the hardening process may go on forever. The mistake in the old doctrine is that it arbitrarily sets the limit of change at death. But death is a physical, not a moral, crisis. There is no more reason for setting the limit of change there than at any previous moment. But that the probability of change does grow less and less, and that there *may* be a point somewhere in the dim future beyond

which it is extremely improbable that the soul will ever return to virtue, seems to me the plainest common sense.[1]

So that conception of law which is dawning upon our view of the moral life does not decrease responsibility, as hasty people sometimes think; it makes it vastly greater and more solemn. If there be *no* relation of cause and effect in the moral life, if at any time a man can do just what he chooses, then let us do what we choose to-day, for to-morrow we can begin all over again if we like; but if the reign of law extends into the character, if the power of habit means anything, if the future grows out of the past as the unbending tree out of the flexible sapling, then what we do to-day in this world is a very grave thing, and life has gained a new seriousness, not a new recklessness, from the idea of "a perfect law of the Lord."

[1] I have spoken of the pains and penalties of moral evil or of wrong doing in the world to come. How long they will endure, I know not. Whether they will issue in the reformation and happiness of the sufferer, or will terminate in the extinction of his conscious being, is a question on which the Scripture throws no clear light. Plausible arguments may be adduced in support of both these doctrines. — W. E. Channing *The Evil of Sin.*

There is virtue in sorrow to educate and perfect the good, but none that we can see to reclaim the wicked. It does not appear that punishment in this world has always the effect, or has in the majority of cases the effect, to reform the sinner; contrariwise, it is notorious that men continue to sin and suffer to the day of their death. What authority have we for supposing that this process is arrested hereafter; or for not supposing that the sinner will go on sinning and suffering everlastingly, or till evil becomes so predominant in the soul as utterly to quench its moral life, and conscious suffering ends in everlasting death? Who shall say that sin, once established, may not grow to be supreme and irremediable, — that the habit of transgression contracted in this world, and confirmed by every fresh transgression, may not become a necessity of nature strong as fate and deep as life? — F. H. Hedge: *Reason in Religion*, page 393.

A new seriousness, and yet a new confidence, — "The law of the Lord is *perfect*." It does not work on one side alone. It does not merely keep the evil and the weakness we entrust to it. It keeps the strength and the goodness too. There is no *pure* influence to which that sensitive tip of our will has exposed itself which has not drawn us toward good. There is no noble direction toward which it has not stiffened, and given a permanent tendency to our lives. The good we have done will stand by us. Nothing but an evil present can nullify a good past; and in what we are to-day, every resistance to temptation, every act of charity and love and nobility has laid its stone.

As to the future, this idea of law, though it vindicates the terrible truth of the old doctrine, tears away its terrible fallacies. How many a death of a noble man or woman has left a horrible agony in the hearts of those who are left behind, at the thought that a lifetime of justice and honor has been of no use, because certain church rites have not been observed, or certain creeds believed! The anguish of bereavement is great enough at its best; but when to the necessity of parting for a few years is added the terrible conviction of parting for eternity, for some alleged sin in the loved one which the Church has created, but would not pardon, for which no amount of natural loveliness or genuine nobleness could atone, — then what a fearful thing the hour of death has been made! That blasphemy is not all dead yet, even in its most terrible form. Only a few weeks ago, said a letter to the "Christian Register," a mother went insane when the minister told her that her baby was forever lost because it had not been baptized. It is a commonplace to hear that said of grown people; but the new day of common sense is dawning. Thank God that honest men may at last die in peace. For the law of the Lord is perfect, and no law of the

Church can change it. What a man has gained he keeps, here or hereafter, if he is only true to it. When we see a man whose life has been full of honest endeavor after righteousness passing out into the dark hereafter, we shall think of him as an oarsman who has pulled his best so far, and, though he may rest on his oars as he shoots under the dark bridge, we shall know that his moral momentum will carry him through till he takes stroke again on the other side.

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AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

25 Beacon Street, Boston

THE American Unitarian Association is the working missionary organization of the Unitarian churches of America. It seeks to promote sympathy and united action among Liberal Christians, and to spread the principles which are believed by Unitarians to be essential to civil and religious liberty and progress and to the attainments of the spiritual life. To this end it supports missionaries, establishes and maintains churches, holds conventions, aids in building meeting-houses, publishes, sells, and gives away books, sermons, tracts, hymn-books, and devotional works.

Tracts descriptive of Unitarian principles, doctrines, and methods, are sent free to any who desire to know what Liberal Christianity stands for and works for. A list of these free tracts will be sent on application. A full descriptive catalogue of the publications of the Association, including doctrinal, devotional, and practical works, will be sent to all who apply. All religious books by Unitarian authors are kept on sale, and will be sent on receipt of price. A list of such books, with prices, will be furnished upon request.

The Association is supported by the voluntary contributions of churches and individuals. Annual subscriptions of any amount are solicited. Address communications and contributions to the Secretary at his office, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. The following is the simple

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath to the American Unitarian Association, a corporation established by law in the State of Massachusetts, the sum of.....dollars.

WHAT THE WORLD WANTS OF US.

BY

REV. CHARLES F. DOLE.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,

BOSTON.

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WHAT THE WORLD WANTS OF US.

I TAKE a familiar parable from the great chandelier in a church. It is made of many separate burners or lights. I can imagine these lights to be scattered about over a square mile of ground, so that looking from a little distance, you would scarcely know that they were there. Not one of them by itself would give brightness enough to see to read. But massed together, these separate lights can be seen from afar, and they fill the building.

I am apt to be appalled when I think of the littleness and insignificance of the individual life. The world is so big, there are so many people in it, things move on so vast a scale and with such aggregation of great populations, that it seems as if the life of any one of us, however large and good in itself, scarcely counted for anything. It seems even as though the lives of the great men of the past, which once, like famous ships, filled the narrow stream of human history, if they sailed by to-day, would soon appear like specks of sails upon the ocean. The solitary prophet or reformer could once attack an evil, an abuse, an injustice, and almost single-handed could hope to slay it. But the crying evils which afflict society to-day go by wholesale; they are involved in the warp and woof of universal society. A thousand individuals

may deplore the factory system, the tenement-house system, the sweating system, the new immigration of ignorance, the selfish and corrupt politics; but no individual is large or strong or wise enough by himself to change or check these systems, or stem the tide of selfish politics running with the momentum of accumulated millions of money.

On the other hand, we are daily impressed with the power and the helpfulness of combinations of individuals. What the one alone cannot do, a few banding together can accomplish as perhaps never before. If you want to do anything in this world, mass your power, mass your light, bring your little separate burners into a chandelier. This is the law and condition, if you wish your lives to count for all that there is in them. This is the law of business and success in it: mass your power and your capital. This is the law of reform: if you want to keep our government safe and pure, or to help do justice in a particular direction, as to the Indians, mass your influence, join hands and purses with the men who think with you.

This is also the law in religion. It might seem that all that the world needs is to see individual lives of faith and hope and charity. But the world does not begin to get on merely by the power of such scattered individual lives. The darkness of the world, its ignorance, its sins, its wretchedness, its poverty, its doubt and scepticism, simply absorb these scattered lights. The world wants in religion the sustained, concentrated power of the chandelier.

This is the idea of a church. The community wants light. It wants to be made perfectly sure where the great lines of life run. It wants to be assured that light, and not darkness, is the essential victorious power of this

universe. It wants not to doubt that justice and goodness reign in the skies and traverse the earth. It wants to believe that life at its hardest and sternest is yet amply and gloriously worth living. It wants to see, not Death, with its black jaws, waiting at the end of the road, but the gates of life standing open and making the face of Old Age shine with hope. The Church is set to meet this need of greater light. A hundred, five hundred, a thousand men and women, bring all the faith and hope and love that they know, and say to the world, See, here is light, here is goodness eternal, truth immutable, the shining ideals, the way to God! They say this very feebly, perhaps; there is some trouble with their light that makes it dim. But even these complaints are a tribute to the world's need of precisely the quality of light that a church is set to furnish.

Possibly some imagine that the need of churches is passing away with the changes of our civilization. I urge that the need of the concentrated light of religion was never so great in every branch of human life. So far from dispensing with churches and leaving religion to depend on individual impulses, we hold that the great call is for better churches and more concentrated power and light in them.

This brings me to say what I have specially in mind about the place of our Liberal churches in this eager, busy, restless, and hungering age. We happen to be challenged just now to answer what we are good for, or why the world should want us. I heard lately the words of such a challenge from a very thoughtful Harvard professor. "You Unitarians have done excellent and valuable work in the past," he said; "but what are you here for now? What message or gospel have you that men should look to you for further help?"

Let me show as plainly as possible what the Liberal churches stand for. A great crisis in morals and religion is upon us. There was never a greater or more profound crisis, or a time more thrilling to live in. The light of religion — what little there was in the world — has been commonly supposed, among Protestants, to shine from certain great and sacred candlesticks in the distant past. There was one luminous tract in human history. It was over the Hebrew land. It culminated in the life of Jesus. When Paul and Peter died, the original light ceased. What light the world had since was only by imperfect reflection, at best, from that great "star of Bethlehem." Where that particular star did not shine, no clear light about God or heaven could be. But this came to be meagre and negative to tell men. Further and more remote, as the centuries passed, grew this bright and beautiful light. Between the men of to-day and the life of Jesus intervened mists, obscuring what that life really was. "Look to Jesus!" the cry was; and, lo! as men looked, they did not see the real Jesus at all. And still the cry went, "Look to Jesus!" for else, except by reflection, you cannot have any light. We see men deliberately turning from the coming day, straining their eyes to get that distant light of the Hebrew story. We see multitudes tired and hopeless about it. They have not any light. They have thought that they once had it; but it has become obscure. "Does God care? Does God love? Is right at the heart of the universe? Is life, and not death, the end of our being?" men ask; but they have not the faith to answer, or even to trust. These are the men and women whom we can help.

We stand, first and foremost, for light, — for the getting and giving it. We stand for all the light that there is, and for the making of more. We have all that there is.

Light is not a commodity shut up in some corner, to which privileged persons only have the key. To hear some people talk, it would seem that we did not know what we believe! We believe in light — in all glorious examples, in all noble visions, in all beautiful lives, in all that reveals goodness, makes faith, deepens love, or quickens hope. We believe that light comes by reflection. It is precious always, say we. Gather it in your mirrors, and make it shine again. But we do not think that light comes only by reflection, as in the cold moon or a burnished surface. It comes originally: it leaps out of everything that is on fire. It develops out of life, and wherever real life is. It comes straight from God, and lighteneth every man that comes into the world.

We care a thousand-fold more for what we call the method of Jesus to produce light than we care even to see Jesus. We care to be filled with humanity and set ablaze with love by whatever touches us, whether it be that beautiful life far away or the face of a child in our home.

But others, you say, stand for this, too. We have no monopoly of light. Thank God, the more light, the better! We believe that there was never more faith and hope and love in our world than now. And is this a reason why we should give up our grand business of making the light shine, because others are doing the same? Did we not agree that the world is as yet, on the whole, very dark? Does any place exist where the people are not crying for the pure light of religion? Do not multitudes want faith and hope more than anything else?

But we are not doing precisely the same as others. Besides the great common mission, we have a distinct mission, too. There are ever so many things which have been mixed up with religion, and thought important to

religion, which the world to-day is finding it very hard to believe. Religion has been taught on the basis of miracles and ancient authority. Many question that authority. As we said before, if they must get their light by reflection alone, they are going without. We come to these people with a clear gospel. We say that religion holds good, — clear faith, hope, love, are realities, whatever you think about the old basis of authority. The light is the fact, not the form of the lamp or the frame that supports it, or the particular variety of oil that makes it. Thus we are perfectly free of the questions about the authority of religion which perplex so many. If any one has a doubt about light and what it is and where it comes from, we have only to say to him, Look at it, use it, enjoy it, and doubt not that it comes "from the Father of Lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

It is here that I make my appeal to you. The world is as yet very slow to believe this beautiful and simple gospel. Almost all the religion that the world has ever seen has been associated with certain ancient forms and with the men who held these forms. All the churches have had opaque and colored shades over their lamps. They have taught men that the light would not shine if you discarded these shades. The world has not really seen clear light without the shades. Many do not believe that light can be made to shine long if you take the shades off. What they want more than anything else is not argument to prove what you say, but object-lessons to assure them of the fact.

We have already plenty of private and individual object-lessons of this. It is wonderful how many persons are to-day working out beautiful lives, deeply religious, as the prophets worked them out, as Jesus did, without any use whatever of the customary shades

of tradition and authority. But these scattered individual lives of religious men and women, whose light shines free of dogma and doubtful traditions, do not begin to meet the needs of our age. You point to Mr. Emerson's life or Theodore Parker's, and men shake their heads, and they say that such a life is exceptional. It could not have got its light except by reflection. It was a sort of product, they say, of the old traditional religion. You cannot have a church on the simple basis of Emerson. If you depend on so simple a religion, the next generation will be plunged nto darkness. This is exactly what men are saying.

And yet all thoughtful persons have a suspicion to-day that unless we can organize religion and make our faith shine on just that simple basis, and quite free of the old opaque shades, the next generation cannot have any religion that will satisfy its needs. These opaque shades are growing intolerable. Men are wishing — we talk with such in other churches — that the world could bring up its children to a simple faith in God, that the world could keep its wonderful hope of a life eternal, on the simple grounds upon which individuals among us already hold their faith and keep their hope bright.

Men look around for adequate object-lessons to give them such public assurance. They want your light strong, not dim. They want it steady, as though it were not going out, or else they will go back and get such light as they can through the old traditional shades that they do not believe in.

It is here that we have not begun yet to see our opportunity. We have not acted as if we had anything that the world wanted. We have not thought that we existed except for ourselves. I submit to you that the world needs clearly to know, what many now hold in doubt, that

we believe in religion: that our churches are alive, and not dead: that our people are loyal, not indifferent; that a Liberal church can be a growing church, an earnest church, a hospitable church: that a Liberal church can be full, and not empty; that its people can sing together, and work together, too, as all hearty and whole-souled and happy people always do sing and work.

There is not a member of an Orthodox church about us who, in his heart of hearts, would not like to see a church succeed on our basis, would not like to be convinced that the light of God is around us to-day as really as it was in Palestine ages ago. Show it to us! men cry. Where are the churches that stand for this? Where is their blazing chandelier?

And right here I wish to speak to our young people and children. The world is judging our religion by you. Can the simple religion keep its children? men ask. Will its young men and women be loyal to it? Will they do anything for it? Do they believe in it?

I will tell you what men are actually saying about you. They say that the children of a Liberal church are apt to desert it: few of them are there on a Sunday; the boys leave its Sunday-school, where no men stay to command their respect; its young men, riding bicycles across country, do their best to break down the institutions of the past, thoughtless of setting up anything better. It is said that the young people of the Liberal church are worldly and mercenary. It is said that we cannot recruit our own ministry from them.

This impression about our children frightens people who want to believe in the beautiful, simple religion. You children could do more to make the true light shine, to disabuse prejudice, to help men believe in a good God, than all the sermons preached from our pulpits in the last

fifty years. Let us train youth to be depended upon to stand in that place or march to that post, wherever they can do the most good. Let such young people stand together, as some even now wish to stand, resolved to make their church a success, their chandelier the mightiest light in the place! You have no idea what such a light as this would do for religion in America. One such church as this would kindle the light of another, and the blaze would go through the land. People would tell of it in the West and the South. "Yes," they would say, "the religion has come that thoughtful men can believe in, free of dogma, that fears no questions, that meets doubts. The religion of pure faith, hope, love, is a reality." "And the children stand by it, support it, believe in it?" "Yes, very heartily." Ah! then the religion of the generations to come is secure. Then faith in light and good and heaven shall rule the coming world. Would to God we might live to see such a church in every town!

I speak quite free of mere personal feeling. But I am impressed with the sense that we and our children are not only in danger of losing our clear sight of the great and ideal things for ourselves, but of actually obscuring these things for others. As though when men were asking the question, "Will the new and freer life of religion hold good?" we were understood to be answering, "No."

If I could make you see in some measure what our chance is, what is asked of us, what the need is that we have to meet, I believe that we should have a new access of power. I believe that hardly one of our men would be as much as tempted to choose the Sunday paper in place of his church. I believe that you would tell others of the high things that we here consider, and bring your friends and neighbors with you, and especially your children, till your church was full. We should not ask anything — the

giving of money or time or labor, for charity or reform or education or the spread of religion, in our city or elsewhere — in vain. I believe that all our young men and women would come into our Bible classes, eager to learn the noblest religious thought of our age. I believe that our Young People's Clubs would rise to a new type of life and effort, not less social but more thoughtful and earnest. I believe that our churches would become great, strong, helpful centres of the higher life of man, in whose range no doubt of God or man or duty or truth or love would be possible.

I wish to make it plain that the church is for more than yourselves. I wish to appeal, not to your selfishness or your regard for individual culture, but to your generosity and your humanity. The Church is the great chandelier made up of the lamps of all of us, that men may see to read the meanings of life. We owe it to the dark world to make this light clear and bright. We owe our little individual burners for the sake of the whole. We owe this, as all other men owe it who care for the vast destinies of mankind. We owe it especially as those who are working out a bold, beautiful, and necessary experiment in the direction of a simple religion, at a time when all need to see our light blaze, while few believe yet that it can blaze and endure. We say that it can. Let us show that it can. Let us be a church to make men believe, and not doubt, our religion.

FOURTH SERIES.] [No. 88.

THE PREACHING OF THE CROSS.

BY

REV. WILLIAM H. LYON, D.D.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION,

BOSTON.

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(*As expressed by the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches, at Saratoga, N. Y., in 1894.*)

"These Churches accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man.

"The Conference recognizes the fact that its constituency is Congregational in tradition and polity. Therefore, it declares that nothing in this Constitution is to be construed as an authoritative test; and we cordially invite to our working fellowship any who, while differing from us in belief, are in general sympathy with our spirit and our practical aims."

THE PREACHING OF THE CROSS.

"The preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness, but unto us which are saved it is the power of God." — 1 Cor. i. 18.

The cross to-day is an ornament and an honor. It tops the spires of splendid churches. It is covered with jewels and worn at the throats of rich women. It is stamped on elegantly bound prayer-books. It gives the ground plan for grand cathedrals.

It was not so nineteen centuries ago. Then it was the apparatus of a disgraceful punishment. It was the gallows of the day. If some old Roman, Cicero or Seneca, should come among us to-day and see the cross so held in honor, he would be shocked. He would feel as you and I would feel if nineteen centuries from now we should come back to the earth and find the most sacred places — the altars, the spires, the bosoms of priests and nuns — decorated with the shape of the modern gallows.

The reason is that once a spirit shone from the cross which utterly overcame the disgrace of it, and turned it into glory. The improbability that any one can ever make the gallows so glorious is the measure in part of the power of that life and death nineteen hundred years ago. The first word, then, in the preaching of the cross, is the conquest of circumstances by character. If

you take some hideous thing and hold it up against the sun, it will be lost in the blaze of light. Hold it against the gas-jet, and it is the flame that is lost; you see only the repulsive thing. So a weak character is lost in the repulsiveness of the circumstances amid which it is placed. Its dignity seems to itself to be gone. It feels degraded by the work it has to do, the burdens it has to bear, the adversities it has to suffer. The world, looking at these circumstances, sees only them and not the soul that lies behind them. But a strong soul shines through and all around its circumstances. You do not think of them at all if they be unworthy; and if they be splendid, you think of them only as a fit setting for the soul. Are there not houses into which you go, very humble and very plain, which you hardly think of as such, so beautiful is the life that is lived there? When the man comes into the humble room a glory comes with him that gilds the furniture with a gold which the cabinet-maker cannot lay on, and fills the room with a light which no glittering chandelier could give. Another man might come into the room, a man who must borrow all the glory he has from his surroundings or his havings, and at once you feel the poverty of the room, and pity the man so circumstanced. Or it may be a fine house; but as the owner comes into the room, it seems somehow to dwarf and dim him. The house seems to own him, and not he the house.

Of course there are circumstances that lift the man. We can no more be entirely independent of them than of our body, which is only our nearest circumstance. But the man must be large enough to control them, — to make them work for him, and not himself for them. Money may help a good life, as a skilful setting helps the lustre of a good gem. It may give a man the fine quality of

independence, and set him free from that temptation to subserviency and hypocrisy and flattery which so eats at the self-respect of the poor. As the wind can get no hold upon the water that has a thin film of oil upon it, and cannot work it up into foaming waves, so many of the vexations and temptations of life may pass harmlessly over the weak man who is covered with a little property. But the lesson which every strong life has taught the world is the power it has to *give* to circumstances, and not to borrow from them. The heroes of the world — the world of business as well as the world of scholarship, or travel, or war, or reform — have told us with the unanimous testimony of their experience that there is no obstacle so great, no degradation so deep, no bodily infirmity so crippling, no lack of influence so discouraging, no disappointment so disastrous, that it may not be not only overcome, but transformed into strength and the means of new success.

But the preaching of the cross goes beyond even this. It speaks not only to those who are in misfortune, but especially to those who feel their misfortune as a disgrace. To some extent this is true of all spirited and energetic souls. To fail is very near to sin. The world punishes it almost as if it were the same. In fact, it often welcomes the sinner where it shuts out the unfortunate. Small wonder, then, that the disappointed man should feel the bruise of failure almost as keenly as if it were the sting of dishonor. It is just to this frame of mind — morbid, if you choose, but certainly real and often unavoidable — that the preaching of the cross appeals. It holds up that weak and falling form upon the instrument of disgrace, side by side with the world-wide honor and fame, yes, the deification which has come upon it, and bids the shame-stricken man of to-day not to faint or despair. It tells

him not only to look at itself, but to look at the cases within his own knowledge — yes, at some facts in his own life — where adversity has been turned into strength. To them that are foolish, the lesson will have no value. They will continue to think only of the present trouble and disappointment, and look forward to no change. But to those who have the strength of soul and will that can save, it is indeed the power of God. It is a glorious reminder of that infinite strength which is ready to be drawn upon by every brave man or woman who, though cast down, refuses to be destroyed, — though faint, yet pursues.

So the first lesson of the cross is the conquest of circumstances by character. The second is that suffering is not necessarily the result of the sin of the sufferer. Whether it is the result of sin at all we must consider later; but it certainly shows that it may be no judgment upon him who suffers. Here is one who was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin; yet he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. The first thought of one who should see the crucifix would be a wonder what that man had done that he should suffer so, and in so wondering he would voice a certain guilty instinct in us all that what we suffer is the punishment of the sins we have done. In older and less thoughtful days this idea was stronger than now, and great was the additional suffering which came from it. That the insane were possessed of devils whom their sinful condition had invited in; that blindness and lameness were the signs, as they were the penalties, of some past wickedness; that poverty, childlessness, early death were branded with the black mark of a disgraceful cause, — this is the old superstition which still lurks around us. Jesus answered it in words which ought forever to have banished it. He answered it still more plainly, though unconsciously, by his life and death. That

poverty is in itself disgrace, that to labor with the hands is degradation, that to be shut out from the favor and company of the high and mighty of the land is dishonor, are ideas that can have no further currency in the mouths, or approval in the ears, of those who believe that Jesus was even a good man; and the actual bodily sufferings which he underwent, yet which, though they were directly inflicted by men, must have had the permission of God, are the answers to those who have said that sickness and pain are the results of sin in those who suffer. Jesus did not sin, and yet he suffered.

But the same is true of his death. Here was not only death, but a premature death, for he was but a little over thirty. Has it nothing to say to that question so often asked in agony, "Why should so good a man die and so many bad men be left?" That question comes out of an uneasy feeling that the death we mourn, like the first one in the old Scripture story, came from sin. We resent the premature death as a slur, somehow, upon the life. We cannot get the lurking superstition out of our minds. To this the death of Jesus gives at least a negative answer. That one so holy should die so soon severs sin from death as by the shears of Atropos. Again, it is granted that the death came from man and not by disease. Still it was permitted. God cannot be cleared from complicity in it. Moreover, the great physicians who have studied the symptoms given in the Gospel declare their belief that Jesus was of weak constitution, and that he died largely from the effects of his sorrow, — died of a broken heart.

So pain and death are no signs of sin in him who undergoes them. That is the negative lesson of the cross. But that they are often the result of others' sin, — that is the positive lesson of the cross. Jesus hangs there as the

symbol through all time of that dark and pathetic fact of human life that the innocent suffer for the guilty, — not instead of them, but because of them. We know the old *doctrine* of the atonement, now so fast falling into *silence*, even among those whose religious ancestors once proclaimed it, — that God, angry with the sins of men, would or could accept no reconciliation except through the sacrifice of his divine son. We have no quarrel now with that old doctrine. Error in form, as it is now confessed to be, it yet held a great sad truth which the observation of every day repeats in the concrete, — that the sins of men fall not only on their own shoulders, but upon the shoulders of the innocent. The *race* is always punished for sin, but the consequences do not always drop, as we should think they would, upon the sinner alone. The little child comes into the world, suffers a few months, and gives up its life. It has done nothing wrong. It bears the dreadful consequence of its father's or mother's carelessness or wickedness. Or it carries through years a burden of crippling or disease that increases with the consciousness of it and the experience of its results, not because it has sinned, but because of the ignorance or the indulgence of some one whose blood is in its veins. There are hearts dark with grief and shame, not because they have done evil, but because some one of the family has gone wrong. He will bear his own burden of dishonor and banishment for his fraud, but these others, who had no part in the crime, have perhaps a keener shame. We are all victims in some way of some other man's sin, as we all in some way make other men suffer for our sin. Why this should be we cannot stop to ask now. We can only see as we pass that God punishes us in this way through our love, that if the sight of our own disadvantage has no effect upon us, the sight of the woe which our sin brings upon those

we love better than ourselves may touch us. And he punishes us also through our admiration, that we may realize how enormous is the sin which not only makes us suffer, but those who are good and noble. But of this fact of the suffering of the innocent because of the guilty, and of the subtile punishment which God sends upon us through what is tenderest and highest in our hearts and souls, the cross is the symbol.

That was no legal fiction which was acted out upon Calvary. It was no God masquerading in human form, seeming to suffer that another God might seem to accept the sacrifice. Nor was it such a travesty of justice as God *accepting* the suffering of an innocent being instead of the punishment of the real offenders. If that be justice, then all our statutes and courts and prisons are horrible mistakes, and all the instinctive workings of the human conscience are dreadful distortions. There is no vicarious atonement in this sense. There is no substitution, no calling the innocent guilty, or the guilty innocent. Calling them so will never make them so, even though it were the Almighty who called them. God requires no reconciliation. He is always ready to forgive and restore, as gravitation is always ready to take the stone back to the earth when you let it go. It is man that must be reconciled to God; man that must see the enormity of his sin as God sees it; man that must come back home of his own free will, by the working of his own soul, by the clearing of his own sight. It is upon man that the suffering of the innocent Christ is to work, that he may see, as it were, in capital letters, the lesson which is printed small in his own home, — short-sighted man that he is, — that he may see how wide the effects of his sin fly, and how high they reach. Our life is no shooting gallery, in which the shots we fire amiss are kept

safely in. They fly out and wound others, — not only the chance passer-by, but the children of our own hearts, the friends of our own bosoms. No man can see that cross, and understand it, without running back with a shudder to his own life, to see what he has done to infect the world with sin, and with the sorrow and pain that come from it; without turning anxiously to the distresses of those who are dear to him, their failures and their woes, to see what part in them his own sins have played. All misfortune, indeed, is not the consequence of sin, but much of it is; and human woes, when the cross looms above them, stir the conscience as well as the sympathy. They make us shiver with a sense of personal responsibility. The sin that made this good man suffer, that darkened that woman's life, that brought disease and pain and uselessness into that child's whole mortal career, is the same sin that I have cherished. The act was not mine, but the roots of it are in me. How soon may not some sudden shoot from them spring up and bear the same poison to another's life! That is the warning, rebuking, saddening lesson which the cross brings into our careless and thoughtless moments. Do not curse the Jew for that fearful consequence of his bigotry and stubbornness. That is over. But see whether the same conceit of your own infallibility be not in yourself. If it is, let the cross warn you, that you be not yourself fit for cursing.

But there is a more lovely lesson than this which streams from the cross. It shows us how beautiful is the sacrifice for others' sake which is willingly made! The death and disgrace of Jesus were not necessary. He could have avoided them. He could have gone back to his carpenter's bench or to his solitary musings over the prophets of his people. His sacrifice was a willing one.

He steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem. What befell him there was no unforeseen entanglement. He knew, if not the details, yet the main result that was to come.

And it was not for his own sake, — not, as even his nearest disciples stubbornly believed to the last, to make himself a king. He had met that temptation and silenced it forever. The question as between his own will and God's was settled. He had the truth to speak. He had the love of his people in his heart. The more they turned against him, the more he determined to give himself for them, because the more they showed how much they needed it. The cross stands, then, for deliberate and loving sacrifice for others' misfortune and sin, and so stands for the sweetest and noblest thing God ever lets the sun shine on.

There is more of this in the world than we often think. We look out into the struggling mob of laborers and employers, the whole mass of men and women, who seem to be wrestling with each other in the mad rush for money, and we grow cynical. We talk of the material age and the love of gain. But in the very fiercest of those wrestlers and racers there may lie a warm and tender love, which is the motive power of all his struggling. It is not for himself, perhaps, that he rushes for money, but for the future of a little child at home, for the comfort of an invalid wife, for a boy at college, carelessly flinging hard-earned money away, or a girl who grows shallow and frivolous by the very love he gives her. Walk through the cotton mill. These are not interesting faces, but there are affections which can light up those faces with the very glory of heaven. They are capable of great sacrifices. "The short and simple annals of the poor" are worth the cynic's reading. Your daily paper, if you read it with

eyes open for such things, will show them to you. There was that family of a sick mother and three or four children, in New York, turned out upon the sidewalk for default in the rent. The grandmother and sister took them up into their own room in the attic, and the whole six or seven starved together in the one room till some one found them and gave to them out of the general abundance. As the baby Christ was said to light up the old stable into which he was born, with the grace of his countenance, so that willing sacrifice, brought to birth among the rags and squalor of a New York tenement attic, made it beautiful with celestial light.

All around us are those who are quietly bearing the discomfort and the privation, the mortification and the shame, which are the crosses on which the good are fastened for the help of the bad. All labors of reformers; all pains taken by the sound for the sick and the insane, by the upright for the criminal, by the happy for the outcast and the foundling, — all the unromantic cares in homes for those who need or submit to be suffered for, — all these in varying degree, as the stars differ in glory, are points where heaven shines through the fogs and clouds of the earthly state. Sometimes a prominent case lights up the principle. We all remember the sadness that went over the country years ago when a trusted cabinet officer, a brave general in the war, was found guilty of gross fraud. He stopped the investigation at a certain point, pleaded guilty, and went into the disgrace that awaited him. At last he died; and it came out, at least to many of us, for the first time, that the sin he had suffered for was not his, but that of a member of his family, and that the point at which he stopped the investigation was the point at which her guilt was about to be exposed. He shouldered the odium, and staggered

under it till he fell into his grave. It was well done. It was a braver and higher deed than any war record could have shown for him. But there are many of them. They are not all high enough to be seen of many, but their sacrifice is great, and as great is the willingness with which they make it, if only the object of it can be helped.

Such is the symbolism of the cross. As the anchor speaks to us of faith, so the cross speaks to us of love. It is a misfortune that abuse of it has banished it from our churches and our chambers. It belongs not to Catholic or Episcopalian, but to the Christian. It is the flag of Christianity. It is the sign of what is deepest and purest in the influence of the master; and if it could only speak to us of the things it really stands for, it should tower above every church and shine in every home. And even as it is, it might well stand before us every morning as we rise for the day's life, as a reminder of that unselfishness which is the centre of Christianity and the crown of manhood.

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THE THREE STAGES

OF

UNITARIAN THEOLOGY.

BY

JAMES MARTINEAU, DD., LL.D.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

BOSTON

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THE

THREE STAGES OF UNITARIAN THEOLOGY.

"Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not: thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer; thy name is from everlasting." — Isaiah lxiii. 16.

The true prophetic heart, may we not say, breathes through these words, and gives them a music that can never die away. They are the tones of a spirit tender yet clear and strong; reverent in memory, open to love, warm with the humanities, yet driven from the sunny front of life, and in its retreat falling back on the sheltering loneliness of God. And do they speak for the Hebrew poet alone? Rather do they pitch the note of a perpetual hymn, caught up and delivered on, age after age, by the noblest voices of history. In the education of our race it is inevitable that the children should outgrow the father's house, and emigrate to new lands of thought: and could the men of old come back among us, and look at us with their patriarchal eyes, who knows but that we might ask their blessing in vain, and Abraham perchance would be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not? To hard and driving natures, content to start the world afresh with each generation, this may seem a mere sentimental grief. But the really progressive minds, that appear to run furthest from the past, are most conscious of their debt to it, most tinctured by its inner life, and most love its venerable names; and for them to be treated as outcasts from the family of the faithful, and find themselves exiles from

the communion to which they cling, is a lot more pathetic than stripes and bonds. A divine necessity, however, is laid on them to bear it. They cannot linger in semblances; they cannot tamper with words; they cannot look away from the light, and play it off in tricks of artificial refraction; they cannot breathe the air of half-truth and half-pretence which maintains the sluggish pulses of the world, but must pant aloft into the untainted elements of life. And as this thirst for the pure reality, this sensitiveness to the poison of falsehood, this inability to worship except in absolute simplicity of spirit, must needs take them apart from the level of human sympathy, and often leave the tenderest affections the most alone, what remains but that they fling themselves from the last brink of earthly reliance, and in a passion of infinite trust cast themselves upon the only True, and cry, "Thou, Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer; thy name is everlasting"?

No reformers have been more unconditionally thrown upon this sublime trust than those whose works we celebrate and prolong this day. As if to justify their own protest against the Trinitarian theology, and prove for them how it darkened human affections, they have been treated as aliens from the sacred commonwealth; and because they would not at Athanasius's bidding worship they knew not what, but abiding by the religion of Christ, would pray only as he prayed, and own no more than his two great commandments, and know no blessing but his beatitudes, they have been thrust outside the walls of the "City of God," and told that the fathers of the faithful are ignorant of them, and the Christian Israel acknowledges them not. Be it so. These chartered believers may shut up themselves, but cannot enclose our God. Without, as well as within, he lives; and as the gates close behind us, and we go into the open and solitary place, where the cathedral bells are lost, and the litanies

are heard no more, newer voices of his Spirit may perhaps float to us on the silence, and we may grow into larger apprehension by simply being alone with him. That there really has been a natural expansion and enrichment of Unitarian theology, favored by the very banishment into which it has been driven, will appear from a mere glance at the successive stages of its modern history.

Religion, even in its most intellectual forms, can never entirely lose its symbolical character; and the real interest of its doctrines will usually be found far behind the apparent. Had the question respecting the person of Christ concerned merely the composition of an historical individual, human or superhuman, it could never have stirred so intense a passion, and tracked its way through Christendom with such a line of storm. The secret of the strife lies deeper. He stands in it not for himself, but for mankind; and the doubt whether within that meek and suffering form the divine essence is hid truly means to those who shrink from it whether from us too any divine life is possible, and the Father of spirits will take up his abode with us. It is not the Jesus of the biographers, but the ideal of our spiritual humanity, the type and head of our race in its heavenly relations, whose seamless robe has been torn by the rude hands of controversy; and were it not that his problem and ours were bound up together, that his divineness was the assumed measure of our communion with God, and that what was asked about him was answered about us, the inquiry must have tired itself out in traversing the ages. But the mind returns with unexhausted wonder to the questions, "What are we?" "Where do we stand in the hierarchy of being?" "Do we belong only to Nature beneath us, or can we live in love with God above us?" and under the disguise of a *Christology* these *human* issues have ever been upon their trial, and to those whose ears are open have mingled with the

voices of angry disputants an undertone, not of softening piety alone, but of unsuspected sympathy.

The doctrine of the Trinity is an economy for linking together the human nature and the divine, — for snatching man, as an exception, from the general physiology of the world, where he would only, like the cattle, be a creature of the universal Maker; for recognizing his sonship and divine similitude as an eternal reality, whether known to himself or unknown, whether reserved in heaven or become historical on earth; and for bringing out his implicit consciousness of this in the whispered pleadings of a Spirit supreme above his own. God in the Universe, God in History, God in the personal Soul, — these three are separately recognized, yet blended into one, in the formula against which we protest; and in dissolving that formula we may be thought to hazard the balance of these relations, and to insulate ourselves on some hard and narrow unity. Our simpler conception, it is affirmed, is visibly inadequate both to the fulness of the divine perfection and the depth of human experience, and repels the richer and riper souls of Christendom by the Mahomedan baldness of its piety and the stoical evenness of its human ideal. Above all, we are assured, do we fail to provide the needful mediation between heaven and earth. The Christ of the creeds, being *both* God and man, can bring the two natures into harmony. The Christ of the Arians, being *neither* God nor man, is cut off from both, and cannot blend them in accord. The Christ of the Unitarians, being *wholly* man, carries in himself the alienated nature, and lies under the disqualification he is needed to remove. He may be an *example* upon the human level, but cannot, it is said, lift us to the divine. Without denying either all that is claimed for the Trinitarian scheme or all that is charged on our own, we shall find something to countervail the merits of the former and to repair the defects of

the latter in the growth of our theology during the last century.

The strength of the Unitarian faith lies in the very first position which it seized, and which I hold to be the impregnable centre of all true religious and moral theory, — that for all spiritual natures *Unity* and *Personality* are One. That which distinguishes you from another, and holds you to your identity from day to day, is the permanent Self-consciousness which the stream of varying thoughts touches as it flows, and the continuous Will which issues or permits the most opposite activities. These are the highest and characteristic attributes of our being; and by its highest attributes must every nature be measured, and in them must its essence be found. Suppose them to change. Let a fever obliterate your memory of the past, or establish within you a double and alternate consciousness, unrelated as your dreaming to your day; and we could no more call to account this fluctuating self than we could punish John for Peter's lie. The moral identity once broken, all other continuity goes for nothing, all other sameness is illusory. What boots it that you are still as tall, as strong, as swift as you were before; that your friends recognize your photograph and your voice; that your pulse has not altered its speed, nor your brain its size? Your being has fallen into fragments which these threads are ineffectual to blend. This rule of thought is our only guide when we pass to things divine; and it compels us to say that if God be not One *Person*, he is not One at all. Whatever else remains, when you have multiplied the *personal* centres of thought and will, is lower than these, and any unity it may have is of no interest to us, for whom *nothing impersonal can ever be Divine*. The Godhead, if by that you mean the Supreme Object of our worship and our trust, subsists not in any spiritual substance within whose compass separate per-

sonalities may have their presence and unfold their celestial drama, but in the living seats of Infinite Mind and Perfect Holiness. A plurality of these is a plurality of gods; and if you try to integrate them again by a common relation to some impersonal essence, you do but deify the lower after taking away the unity from the higher.

I know it will be said that the old creeds meant something less by the word "person" than it suggests to us, and intended only to mark three distinct parts which the divine nature plays relatively to the universe and to us. However true the explanation, it leaves the thing explained worse than it was before; for if the personal attributes, as we understand them, are absent from the members of the triad, where are they to be found? *Who* thinks the divine thoughts? *Who* wills the divine acts? Whither am I to fly for the Living Mind that answers to my own, Spirit to spirit? If these characteristics are disclaimed for the *personal* elements of the scheme, it is surely vain to seek them in the *non*-personal; and they must simply be without determinate place in it *anywhere*, and float unfixed in the spaces of the Divine Infinitude. And this is the simple truth: the language of the creeds is born of an ancient pantheistic philosophy, which blurred all the lines between Thinker and Thought, between God and the World, between Spontaneity and Will, and never gained the complete conception of *Personality*, human or divine. This great and prolific idea, approached but not secured by Judaism, is the healthy product of modern times, the chief gain of our speculative intellect, and inspirer of our practical life; and a religion which does not provide for it, which instead of borrowing anything from its light and power only blinks at them and eludes them, and escapes under cover of the Greek ambrosial cloud, half radiance, half mist, confesses itself unequal to the wants of living humanity. The first essential, then, of a restored purity

of worship was precisely the work to which our predecessors in the last century addressed themselves, — to clear the personality of God till it is simple as the unity of the soul; to sweep away the haze of ancient pantheism, with the ecclesiastical mythology it holds; to take the eternal Son of God from heaven, and isolate the Father as the one Infinite Mind, the sole self-subsisting Life, the all-pervading Will, at whose disposal creation lies.

The first effect of this absolute loneliness of God inevitably was to exhibit the universe as a stupendous centralized monarchy, administered on one plan, and directed by one power. The provinces of the cosmos can thus have, as it were, no municipal life, the local agents no real independence; the whole hierarchy of place and rank is but the receptacle and organ of a force given and transmitted. There can be no pause for remonstrance, no idea of resistance; the single impulse from the capital moves on its inexorable lines, and executes its errand at every station as it flies. Priestley's Necessarian type of doctrine was the natural result of his reduction of all causes to One, and his intense absorption in that One. When you plant yourself in thought at the divine station, and look out thence through the universal fields, and take the clew now of this law, now of that, to conduct you through the maze of phenomena, the whole system, reduced to a miniature at that height, must appear as one, with man as a minor organism swept along in its current of force; its scientific programme will construct itself within your imagination, filling up its vacancies as the prospect clears, till the whole appears to you as a mighty machine of divine invention, the vehicle of predetermined methods, and the depository of predetermined ends. So long as the unity of the divine agency was in question, and was threatened with the partnership of co-equal powers, this religion of causation, which indignantly expelled all "fel-

low-workers" and all withstanders of the Most High, met the wants of the time, and fostered a sublime and comprehensive piety. You pass through an experience at once subduing and exalting when you part from all realities but the Supreme, and find yourself with him alone; when the throng of secondary causes ceases to distract and to conflict, and as it sinks into semblance drops into the lines of an eternal order; when you try to empty the running waters and the sweeping winds and the teeming earth of any forces of their own, and bid them speak and look for him alone; when the passions of men rise up against you, and you stand still and answer not, because they subside before your eye into a pulsation of his will; when the very thoughts you seem to think resolve themselves before you into phenomena of his life passing a conscious point of space; when, in short, life becomes to you a sacred dream, and history a soliloquy of God, and the possibility is gone of anything less than the Divine. As if to test at once the sustaining efficacy of this faith, its great apostle in the last century was driven, the victim of ruinous outrage, from the country he had instructed and adorned; and never did they receive more impressive comment than in the lofty patience, the serene trust, the unexhausted benevolence of the exile of Pennsylvania.

In vindicating the sovereignty of the universal Father, this scheme subordinates the whole universe alike, and allows nothing to approach nearer to him than the web to him that weaves it. The threads may be of this color or of that in the warp or in the woof; but all are interwoven in the same texture, and hold a homogeneous relation to the Maker. Man, therefore, is not less exclusively a part of Nature than the birds and the plants, is worked up in the same way into the organism of the world, and though he may have a larger consciousness, containing within itself more successive links in the chain of production,

is equally the theatre of their predetermined order, and powerless to give them an alternative direction. He too, like all else, is as the clay to the potter, to be moulded by another; and be the pressure on the inside or on the out, he is shaped, and does not shape himself. Since he is sensitive, and can be turned hither and thither by the touch of pleasure and of pain, he is *manageable*, and may be broken in; but since he cannot help going whither the given impulses take him, he is not *responsible*. The treatment of him may be *disciplinary*, but cannot be *moral;* you may pity him, but cannot blame him; and he may feel regret, but never compunction. If this is his aspect in the human view, still more must it be in the Divine. How can God, who meant him to be exactly what he is, call him to account, or look on him with less complacency than if he had been different? And so the moral sentiments which are superseded on earth disappear from heaven, and he whose name was once "Righteous" and "Holy" merges all his perfections in "benevolence." Nor does there seem room upon this scheme for any *personal* relations between us and God, whether of *similitude* or of *communion*. For that which constitutes him a *personal* being is precisely that free, originating power of which we have none, and which, centred all in his nature, leaves him the only *person* in the universe, and us but a complicated sort of *things*. In the only attribute which gives him *character*, we can never be like him; and we have no independent standing-place from which we may speak with him face to face, no private closet where we can enter and shut the door. If we kneel down, it is on his prompting-ground; if we sigh, it is his breathing; if we pray, the words move the wrong way, and flow from him, not to him. He possesses us behind and before; and turn and look and implore and weep as we may, it is still his own drama under masquerade. From this theory, it is plain.

the "eternal decrees" have not yet taken their departure. By the touch of benevolence they have lost, indeed, their *cruelty*, but not their *absoluteness;* and something else is needed ere we meet the presence of him to whom arose the night cry of Gethsemane.

The reaction naturally came from the other end of the relation between us and God. As in the *religion of causation* man seemed to be crushed into a mere creature, so was it on his behalf that remonstrance broke forth, and at the bidding of Channing the *religion of conscience* sprang to its feet. However fascinating the precision and simplicity of the Necessarian theory in its advance through the fields of physical and biological law, it meets with vehement resistance in its attempt to annex human nature, and put it under the same code with the tides and trees and reptiles. Our personality, though frightened and dwindled for a moment, and hardly believing its own voice, is sure to recover from the most ingenious philosophy, and to reassert its power over the alternatives before it, and own its obligation to the authority within it; and the second period of our theology is marked by this recovered sense of moral freedom. When the tones of the New England prophet reached us here, why did they so stir our hearts? They brought a new language; they burst into a forgotten chamber of the soul; they recalled natural faiths which had been explained away, and boldly appealed to feelings which had been struck down; they touched the springs of a sleeping enthusiasm, and carried us forward from the outer temple of devout science to the inner shrine of self-denying duty. The very inspiration of the new gospel, in what thought does it lie? *The greatness of human capacity*, not so much for intellectual training as for voluntary righteousness, for victory over temptation, for resemblance to God, — a greatness attested on the terrible side by the power to incur *guilt*, to choose

ruin, to resist the Supreme Will. The interval between our lowest possible sin and our highest possible holiness is infinite, and can be expressed by no physical contrast of hell and heaven; and that interval measures the range of our power and the solemnity of our trust. Of this vast scale of possibility we have notice given to us in the aspirations and the remorse of conscience, — whence we well know that our sins are more than mistakes, and our self-conquests more than prudence; that both are our own, and we are shaped into neither; that by the one we sink into mere Nature, by the other we rise toward God. Thus regarded, moral distinctions, no longer resolved into mere sentient ones, are reinstated in their independent reality, and the apprehension of them becomes the supreme dignity of all minds. There is one and the same righteousness for the whole hierarchy of spiritual natures, and the free love of it and life in it is the bond of their glorious commonwealth. Here it is that man is truly "the *image* of God," and not his moulded *creature* merely. In proportion as he attains goodness, purity, disinterested love, and strength to negative the wrong, does he really reflect the divine lineaments in little, and enter upon an actual sympathy with the Holiest of all; and the essential perfection of the Parent Mind repeats itself in the child, and kindles his features with a lustre of the heavens. Under the light of this faith the history of mankind is no longer a mere branch of the physical development of the world, the last chapter in the natural history of species, but broadly distinguishes itself from these, and appears on a different stage as a drama of real probation, whose great criminals, tyrants, and impostors we are not bound to pity like the sufferers of loathsome disease in an infirmary, but may abhor and denounce as enemies rather than victims of God, and whose heroes and saints we may regard as something more than animated figures handsomely constituted

and finely tempered for their work, and visit with our natural praise and reverence as faithful representatives in time of the eternal justice and purity. If you gaze down upon the human race from the causal throne of the universe, they are flung into insignificance, and float as gleaming dust upon the air-current; but if from the interior of the human spirit you look up to the heaven of God, you find a possible divineness in man and an affinity with the Original Perfection which dissipates the illusion of his littleness. Will, then, this sense of moral freedom, of the reality and greatness of our trust, turn us into Stoics, and set us up in self-gratulation and pride? We are told that so it must be if we as free persons stand face to face with the personal unity of the Father who constitutes us his children, and that we can have no humility unless there be an eternal Son of God in heaven to graft that grace upon us as a portion of his own.[1] If we ask for a reason for this strange dictum, we are only told that it is impossible for a finite personality to be humble out of its own resources and reflections: the feeling must be divinely given. Who, then, is it that is said to make us partners in this lowly grace? The eternal and spotless Son of God! Is, then, humility possible in an Infinite Personality, in one who stands only in presence of equal or of lower beings, and in whom failure has never been and progress never can be, yet *not* possible to us in our finite strife and imperfection, who are forever haunted by the ideal which we do not reach, who see an indefinite hierarchy of excellence above us, and who in all our shortcomings have day by day to spread our moral record before the Holiest of all? Surely, if there be a position and a mind in this universe shut up within the tenderest shadows of humility, it is ours; and if it be true, as our critic affirms, that we

[1] Tracts for Priests and People, No. XIV., "The Incarnation," by Richard H. Hutton, A.M., pp. 27–30.

Unitarians feel not these shadows, but lift a self-righteous head, may God give us better knowledge where we stand!

If now we put together the two types of doctrine which I have described, and make them into one so far as they are compatible, shall we find rest in a complete and adequate theology? Let us say from the first that God is sole cause in the natural world, and from the second that he is sole cause except ourselves in the moral world, where we are permitted to be "fellow-workers" with him; is this a finished account of his relation to us? No. All this might be true: he might pervade all Nature with his presence and his providence; he might invest our spirit with a share of his free will; and might then withdraw from our voluntary life, and leave us to work out our moral problem alone, and only in the end return to take account of our fidelity. In this case each soul would be as a spiritual island planted out in the natural deep of things, beaten by the tides of law that sweep around, but with autocratic power to turn their destructive force aside, and make them serve its affluence and beauty. We should thus sustain real responsible relations to the heavenly Father, — relations which he has planted us out to assume, and which he will recall us to sum up; but meanwhile we shall remain personally apart, and live as sons in a foreign land, executing the sacred trust they have brought from home. Is, then, our spiritual nature thus rounded off into self-sufficient isolation; and is it across a chasm without a bridge that we look to him, and feel after him in vain to find him? When we too are on the eve of our cross-bearing, and take up the words, "I am not alone, for the Father is with me," is it only of a *physical presence* that we speak, and must we faint and struggle on through the silence of our God? Many a path of life such moral desolation would turn into a dolorous way; nor could

there well be a more pathetic lot than to believe in a Father of our spirits, and to think him out of reach. But what is to fasten upon us so miserable a dream? Is it the nightmare of law that sits upon our breast, and turns our cry for Him into a helpless shriek? We have but to open our eyes, and the ghost is gone, and we draw breath in the sweet morning light. Law reigns inflexibly through the natural life, and if that were all, would reign inflexibly everywhere. But there is in us that which is above the natural life, and apprehends what lies beyond it; and just as God is not imprisoned in the universe, but transcends it, and in that outlying realm is hindered by no pledge from acting freely out of fresh affections, so have we a range of free ideal life, whence we can look down upon the instincts of nature and up to the Infinite Holiness, and which we know is in subjection to nothing inflexible. This is precisely what we mean by *spirit*. — this liberty to move alternatively out of the thought and love of a reasonable mind. God is a spirit, in so far as he is not locked up in the invariable order of the world: and there is a spirit in man, in so far as he is not disposed of by his organism and his dwelling-place, but rises in thought and directs himself in affection to what is above them. Here, then, it is that there is room for true communion, that Spirit may meet spirit, and that the sacred silence may itself speak the exchange of love. Our moral ideals, the irrepressible sigh after higher perfection, the sense of divine authority in every vision of the better, the shame at every yielding to the worse, — these, we are well aware, are not of our making, or donations of other men. They are *above us*: they are *given to us*: they are what draw us to God, and commence our likeness to him. In this field of spiritual affection that lies around our will, the common essence of man and God, the divine element that spreads its margin into us, has its home, its life, its reciprocal

recognition, its bursts of human prayer, its answer of divine compassion, its deep shadows of contrition, and returning gleams of restoration. The life with God, then, of which saintly men in every age have testified, is no illusion of enthusiasm, but an ascent through simple surrender to the higher region of the soul, the very watch-tower whence there is the clearest and the largest view. The bridge is thus complete between the divine and the human personality; and we crown the religion of *causation* and the religion of *conscience* by the religion of the *spirit*. If we, in our poverty of thought, have had to take them up successively, all of them together have the authority of him "in whom all fulness dwells," and can never be wanting in us except as we fail of "the full stature of Christ." We know with what meaning the lily of the field looked up into his eye; and if the robe of beauty on the earth was to him no dead product of the seasonal machine, but woven by the living hand of God, he sanctioned the piety which resolved the creative agencies back into the Creator's. We know with what strong crying and tears he could expostulate with heaven, and wrestle, as it were will with will, in the hour of temptation and of agony, yet as a son learn obedience through that which he suffered, and end with the calm words, "Not my will, but Thine, be done;" and alike in the strife and in the surrender we have his witness to the reality of that moral conflict in which sin is always possible, and filial self-sacrifice is the only victory. We know how he fed the secret springs of his gentle and holy life, and sought upon the hills and in the night for the loneliest confidences with the Hearer of Prayer, and with mingling confines of personality felt himself in the Father and the Father in him and his; and we must own in him the supreme witness to the spiritual union of man with God, — a union which, were it constant as in him, might be deemed an incarnation, but where transient

and intermittent, as with our lower fidelity, appears rather as a dispensation of the Spirit.

Thus, then, the Unitarian protest, which perhaps begun with too great and monarchical a separation of our world from heaven, comes round at last to a reunion of the human and divine. And in the cycle which it has run there is a curious recovery, as it were, of the functions of Trinity without its paradoxes, only with the drama transferred from the individuality of Christ to the life of humanity. We have traversed, and at length united, the relations of *creature to the Creator*, of *Son to Father*, of *weak and tempted to the all-quickening Spirit*: and may we not say that thus, without confusing the nature of God, we have enriched and ennobled our religious comprehension of man, and provided for a more balanced justice to the claims of Nature, of conscience, and of the soul, and a blending consecration for them all? If an expanding faith brings us, as we think, an ampler peace, let it stir us also to a deeper fidelity; and if those who know us not still drive us from the sacred enclosure, and treat us as wanderers from the Christendom we love, all the more let us fling ourselves into the embrace of the Only True, and still say, "Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not: thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer: thy name is from everlasting."

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BY

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WHAT OUR YOUNG PEOPLE CAN DO FOR TEMPERANCE AND PURITY.

[*An address given to the Young People's Meetings held in Boston, Mass.*]

I AM glad to speak on this subject, — glad for two reasons: (1) because I am so convinced that Temperance and Purity lie at the foundation of all strong, noble life; and (2) because there is so much that young people can do for them.

It is not luxurious homes, nor costly dress, nor lavish pleasures, nor all the rich means which give command of these, which make a happy life or a really noble society. "The life is more than meat," — yes, more than all life's gear and trappings and externals. It is *the life*, the deep inner being and self, which dominates all else; and right at the foundation of that deep inner life lie these two things, — Temperance and Purity.

I speak of Temperance first, because it lies most directly in our way whenever we talk of nobler life or nobler society. The sins against Purity lie deeper in, are less palpable, — more subtle too, and more difficult to reach. But this terrible vice of intemperance lies right upon the surface. You do not need that I should go through the well-known figures to tell you how many per cent of those who fill our poorhouses and prisons and lunatic asylums have come there through drinking. You do not need to go to such places in order to have the evil and the curse brought home to you. You cannot pass along the streets without seeing something of it; you see it through the

open doors of the dram-shops and in the coarse faces of the drinkers loafing about. And here and there you keep coming upon it in homes that you know, or know of. It is less so, indeed, in this country than in some others. It is far less here than in England, both in public and in private. I do not see one drunken man in the streets in Boston or New York where I used to see twenty in Manchester or Liverpool;[1] and there is less private drinking here, too. And still, in how many homes is this the "skeleton in the closet," hidden out of sight perhaps, prayed against with many secret tears, but still there, with its clammy touch of hopeless and ever deepening degradation.

Well, but *what can you do about it?* You feel so powerless! Yes, I know that feeling of utter powerlessness, — of wishing one could do something, but not knowing what in the world to do. And yet you young people are not so powerless as you think. If you only wish and long to do, you can find something that you can do now and much that you can gradually do as you grow older. I do not mean any one patent way of doing away with the evil; I am afraid there is not any one patent way. But in the quiet, steady fighting against all this drink evil, and undermining it, and putting something better in its place, — in all this you may have your part *if you want to do,* — yes, and a stronger part than you realize, and a part that will keep growing.

But now, to speak of practical ways. I wonder whether the first thing I have to suggest will seem whimsical to you. I do not think it is, because at the root of any

[1] Preparing this for the press, in May, 1892, after my return to England, I am glad to say that this statement is true of what *was* rather than of what *is*. I have been greatly struck with the improvement in England, nothing like so many drunken people about as I used to see twenty years ago.

doing at all must lie the wish, the longing to do something; the feeling that the evil is so terrible that you *must* do something. So the very first thing I would put to you is to face the evil, not to try to shirk the sight of it, not to turn away from looking at it when it comes in your way. I remember how this came to me years ago. In the great city where I was living, there were two ways to one of the places to which I had often to go. The shortest way, the direct way, lay through one of the worst quarters of the city, something such a place as "Seven Dials" in London or the "Bowery" in New York, — full of repulsive sights of poverty and degradation, and especially of drunkenness. And only a little way round, there was a comparatively pleasant way through good streets and squares. This was the way I usually took; till one day it suddenly came to me that *I must not do it*, that it was a kind of cowardice, that Jesus Christ would rather have gone through the worse streets, even if it was painful. It came like "a word of the Lord" to me, — I imagine that is about how the Lord does speak to all of us, — and ever since it has seemed to me one of the principles of life. For it is so easy to choose the brighter ways, to avoid the painful sights of want and sin that cower in the by-ways of the city. So I would say to you young people: Go the direct way; face whatever may be there. If your way leads you beside sorrow and want and the poor bruised lives that have "fallen among thieves," suffer it to be so; do not "pass by on the other side." Of course it is painful; but it is a good pain. That is the kind of pain Christ felt. It is the kind of pain that has to be at the heart of all real Christ-like helpfulness, at the heart of trying to lift up the fallen out of any of these terrible evils that drag down human lives.

This first matter, however, touches the wanting to do something for temperance and purity rather than what to

do. Coming now to this, I want, as my second point, to put it to you young people, how much you have in your power in your own homes and among your circle of friends. I do not mean by any preaching, or lecturing those about you, after the fashion that I have sometimes read of what are called "ministering children" in story books. I do not even mean by becoming "teetotalers," and setting an example of avowed total abstinence. I used to believe that this was the one great remedy for intemperance, and that to persuade men to it was the special temperance work that was most needed. I must confess that I have lost faith in that; but for those of you who think so still, all I can say is, hold to it openly, fearlessly. But what I am most anxious about is that those who believe in total abstinence should not feel that that is all that can be done, and that those who do not believe in it should not therefore think that there is nothing they can do. That is not so. You may not be able to believe that these things are poisons, and that they ought to be totally and absolutely disused; and yet you may be sure — as I am — that the use of them is a great deal too common. It is not so free as it was in the days of our fathers, but it is still a great deal too free; their use is beyond all bounds of a noble simplicity in living, even when not carried to what the world calls excess. Many people seem to fancy that there can be no enjoyment, no hospitality without wine. That idea wants doing away. All this too common use, just as an element of sociality or hospitality, all this apparatus of drinking at parties and on social occasions, — I think it is a perilous, mischievous thing. Now it is exactly in all this that you young people can not only do much, but can do almost everything. For it is you who set the fashion of the social world, and you can have it very much as you will.

If you, young man, say to your father that you mean

to have that little party of your friends next month, or that college-spread that is to come by-and-by, without wine, you may be pretty sure your father will be glad.

If you, my dear young lady, when that wedding is coming off, — if you will quietly set down your foot that at the wedding feast there shall be no champagne, why, you know you can have it so!

Or the question will come up about that little club some of you are getting up, or for that excursion into the country, or for this supper, or that entertainment, — constantly this question keeps coming up, of having wine: — VOTE AGAINST IT!

And will any one be hurt? Yes, a few fast and giddy young people will sneer, perhaps. But every one whose opinion is worth having, will say, "Well done!" and will respect you for your principle and still more for having the courage to stand by it. And you, young man, will have taken a position which will make you a little stronger for the right, a little readier in speaking up for the right all through your life. All this has nothing to do with teetotalism! Take your stand for the sake of a manlier, purer simplicity in living. Yes, set yourselves for *that*, not in this thing only, but all through. I tell you, modern life is having the heart eaten out of it by all this display and catering to self-indulgence and measureless luxury; and I know no better service that young men or women can do for their society and their time, than quietly, without any affectation of puritanism, but as doing the right and proper thing, to set themselves for a little simpler living, and especially to begin with this most dangerous of luxuries and simply have nothing to do with it.

Then for a third point, applying especially to young men, — though you young women may have a most helpful part in encouraging them to it, — but you, young men, at

twenty-one you are citizens. Then comes your responsibility; and I want you to face it like earnest men, and not merely to think of it as of being able to vote with this or that party, but as of having your part to do for making your city and your country better. Have the hurrahing and the processioning and the torch-carrying if you will, only that is not how the world is going to be redeemed and this old city come a little nearer the kingdom of God! I tell you there is an immense deal to be done in a great community like this, an immense deal which by being rightly done or wrongly done may tell for sober, orderly, temperate living, or directly the other way. Look, for one thing, at the enormous mischief of the present system of public drinking places; and for another, at the way in which the organized liquor interest stands against every attempt at purer city government. I am no Prohibitionist, but I do not therefore believe in letting things go on as they are. Only a year or two ago, when I was asked to join in a prohibition movement, I said that I believed that if half the energy and work which is thrown into the movement for new laws on the subject were put into making the best of the laws we have, Boston might be a model city. There is the struggle for to-day and for to-morrow and many to-morrows, — to have our laws obeyed, to prevent men from making a gain and traffic out of temptation and vice; and I want you to be prepared, as soon as your voting time comes, — now, if it is come, — to take your part in this struggle, and to let it be the intelligent and fearless part of Christian citizens!

But now, what shall I say about the second part of my subject, — Purity, and all this dark shadow of impurity? It is so terrible, — all that is covered by that word impurity in our modern world, — so terrible and yet so subtle, so difficult to grapple with, so painful even to speak of. One is tempted to pass it by on the other side.

But that is not possible. You may ignore it, but you cannot be ignorant of it. It stares you in the face in the shape of lewd pictures on the theatre notice-boards, just as near indecency as they dare go. You cannot take up a newspaper but you come upon the tokens of it, — divorces, ruined characters and lives, scandals and hints of profligacy, a slimy ooze of foul and crawling lusts that keep sinking into those bottomless depths of hopeless vice which are earth's most real hell.

See how the significance of all this has come home to me. In the different places where I have passed my forty years of ministry, and tried to help men toward strong Christian life, I have seen many successive sets of boys grow up to manhood. I have known them first as bright, happy, wholesome lads, and my heart has gone out to them, thinking of all they would have to face in the world; and, oh, how I have longed to see those lads grow up strong, true-hearted men! And some have done. I know nothing that has so touched me when I have gone back among my old parishes in Sheffield and Manchester, as to meet the warm grip and the clear open look of many of those little boys of twenty or thirty years ago, for whom I had longed with such trembling, now true-hearted, useful men with children of their own. Ah! but how many have I known — and which of you elders, here, has not — who gradually changed? I watched them passing out of boyhood, losing the bright face and the open look, getting among fast companions, putting on not manly self-control, but only mannish indulgences, and gradually mannish vices. And I have known how fathers warned and reasoned with them, and mothers prayed and clung to them and tried so hard to keep them to the right, but could not. And so they went down and down, until some came to be such as Shakespeare says —

"Can smile and smile and be a villain,"

and some sank into early and unhonored graves; and most, perhaps, have grown into such common men, men, who, though no public shame may dog their steps, — such as awaits the woman who should sin a hundredth part as much, — will yet bear to their dying day the impress of a low, coarse, fallen life.

Oh, what a pitiful weakening of the world! And that is the story of how human lives are growing up — and, alas, growing down — in every city. But now what can be done about it, especially what can you young people do about it?

Not very much in any collective, organized fashion; but so much individually, personally. Much, therefore, of what I have said about helps to temperance, applies as strongly to this matter of purity. All that can strengthen character, give life warm, vivid interests outside of self; all that can make women more independent; all that can make life simpler and less costly, and so marriage less difficult; all that can elevate women's requirement of character in the men whom they will marry, and the public requirement for the men who shall be promoted to honor; and all that can purify literature and the drama, and make the law more stringent and effective against those who would make gain of vice, — these are the things which make for purity in the city.

And can you young people do nothing in all this? Nothing? Why, almost the whole thing rests with you! Not, perhaps, what the city shall be this year or next, but what this city shall be in twenty or forty years, depends almost entirely upon what you young people are and do. Yes; and not upon what you will be and do *then*, thirty or forty years hence; but what you will be and do *now*. For, one year now counts for ten! What you shall be and the city shall be forty years hence depends upon what you are and do for the next four.

Yes, look at these helps I have just outlined, one by one, and in every one the work rests most of all with you young people.

(1) At the heart and centre of all is character, — pure, clean, manly and womanly character. And is not *to-day* "the day of salvation" in that? Will any one call it "salvation" for a man to go on sinning, — living a low, coarse, evil life for sixty or seventy years and then manage to get what little scrap of soul is left allowed to go to heaven? I suppose some people would call that "salvation." But we Unitarians do not! What! let a candle burn down till it is almost guttering in the socket, and then blow it out and call *that* "saving the candle?" Save this life, this character that is in you, now. Oh, young men, keep yourselves pure! Now, while you have a chance of shaping your life the better way, do not throw it from you. Do not be misled by the miserable sophism, that because these passions are in your nature there is no harm in gratifying them. I know how widely that is urged, but there is not one grain of truth in it. This matter of Purity is one in which the deep real truth is only to be seen on the longer view of human life; but there it is clear as daylight. "Keep thyself pure" is not only the law of Christ, it has been the voice of all the wisest thinkers, looking to what is morally good for man, and it is what every trainer for a boat-race or a foot-ball match puts just as strongly as the moralists. And do not be misled by that other miserable sophism, that there is something strengthening to the character in experience of evil. Knowledge of evil you cannot help, alas! if you live in the world. But there is the knowledge of the man who has steeped and fouled his soul in it, and there is the knowledge of the man who has resisted it, and walked amidst it with pure, upright, pitying strength. Do you need me to tell you

which is the most strengthening way of these two? Young men, all the real nobleness of life is rooted not in self-indulgence but in self-control. Keep yourselves pure, then, — pure from the start. Say not it cannot be done! It *has* been done. Whole races have done it! Read what Cæsar and Tacitus, looking with the eyes of men accustomed to the profligacy of Rome, say of those Saxon and Germanic peoples of which our English speaking race is the strongest outgrowth. "They live," says Tacitus, "under the influence of a secure chastity. . . . Nor does any German smile on this vice, nor apologize for it by calling it 'the way of the world.'" Purity *is* possible; and though it be sometimes like the "plucking out of the right eye," it is worth it. Resist the beginnings of impurity. Keep pure in heart. It is from idle and impure imaginings that the most terrible sins flow. Do you say, "Who can help his thoughts?" Old parson Gadsby used to say, "You may not be able to keep a bird from lighting on your head, but you can keep it from building its nest there." Keep head and heart occupied with better things. That was another distinct point I made: —

(2) To give life eager, vivid interests outside of self. Is not that something for young people? A man of sixty said to me a while ago, "I have never cared for anything but business all my life, and now I don't know how!" No; but if that man had gone to some one when he was twenty, and said, "Teach me your interest in plants or birds or stars, or in history, or in working for the city; or, at any rate, let me help you and be with you in it, that I may have a chance to be interested," would not life have been better for that man? Would he have been so likely to use its leisure in mere amusement, and to have been tempted, as his passions grew, into the base, evil pleasures that leave a bad taste in the mouth through life? No! I believe that a very large part of the dissipation

there is, arises from life being so uninteresting; let the mind go without its own interests and the body will thrust in its appetites. Young people, have something to do, something outside of business and work; and only do it hard enough and you will take an interest in it before long, never fear!

(3) And close on this follows that other point I spoke of in regard to temperance: Stand for simpler living, — less costly, less luxurious living! Does not this touch purity at many a point? Does not thoughtful self-control and self-denial in eating and drinking make the will stronger over every indulgence and every appetite? And besides, how much of vice among men springs, or is made more confirmed, by the difficulty of marrying, by the expense of it? The innermost safeguard of all, for purity, is true, real love; but who does not know how the natural manly and womanly instincts of affection are hindered, thwarted, thrown all awry by the conventional extravagance of living? How can numbers of young men of the middle class marry, now a-days, in face of the scale of living which is considered respectable? Yet, need it be so? Why, it need not be so for a day, if only you young people would have a little more courage. If only you will give up expecting to start where your fathers and mothers leave off; if you will not be ashamed to live in small quarters, and will believe in *work*, and in doing for yourselves and one another, then marriage need not be any impossibility. Do not wait till youth is over and love's fresh joy is faded and your way is made; make it together, and you will find life blessed and enriched far more than by great wealth. That way, lies one help toward more purity in modern life.

Then, there are some ways in which young women especially can help. Every step toward greater independence for women, toward more self-reliance and more self-

respect; every way opened for women to be able to rely upon themselves; every girls' club or friendly society for drawing those who do so work and rely upon themselves into closer, more sisterly association and helpfulness, — everything of that kind is a help toward social purity, a help against the temptations of want, of loneliness, and often of vanity, by which so many in our cities are dragged down. These are all things that you young women can have a hand in. But what I think is wanted of you, most of all, is to insist upon a higher standard of purity in men. Why should there be one standard for women and quite a different one for men? I want to see the day when, in society, women will treat a loose man with something of the reprobation which they would show in a moment to a fallen woman. I want to see the day when women will claim the same purity in any man they would accept for husband, as the most profligate man requires in the woman he would make his wife. I do not say that day is near; but if it ever comes it will come by you younger women taking that stand; and if it ever does come, it will be like a new birth alike for womanhood and manhood.

And so, as you grow older the way will keep opening for more and more that you can do; but you must begin it all *now!* Begin it now in the books you read, in the companions you choose, in the amusements you go to. Choose the good; only go to the good. When things are doubtful, let your rule be to "keep well on the right side." It is you younger folk who, more than any others, can purify the theatre. Who cares much what we older people say of this or that play? But if *you* set your faces against anything even shady or doubtful, *that counts!*

Also, when now and then the city does something toward purifying the theatres or closing drinking-places, or lays a strong hand on gambling, or stops some brutal

exhibition or sport, do not you sneer at it; do not you take the too common tone of cavilling at it as puritanism. We do not want puritanism, but we do want purity; and we not only want it in private action, but as far as public law can help it on, we want it that way too.

Oh, friends, — all you young men and maidens who stand facing life and longing for some greatness and worth in life, and thinking sometimes that all that was in the past and not in these trite common ways of to-day, — oh, friends, there never was a greater time for noble living, in the name of God, than now!

> "You need not quit for cloistered cell
> Your neighbor, and your work farewell,
> Nor strive to wind yourself too high
> For sinful man beneath the sky."

You do not want the monk's cell or the monk's garb. You no more want to be separate from the common throbbing life of your time, than Christ was. But in the midst of all this life you want to live in a kind and fearless simplicity, doing your work as your service to God and man, rejoicing in such pleasures as befit the pure in heart, full of helpful kindness to those around, and strong for the conflict of the right.

And would you know, in one great word and name, where is the spirit and the leadership for all this nobler life? It is here, in Jesus Christ.

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